

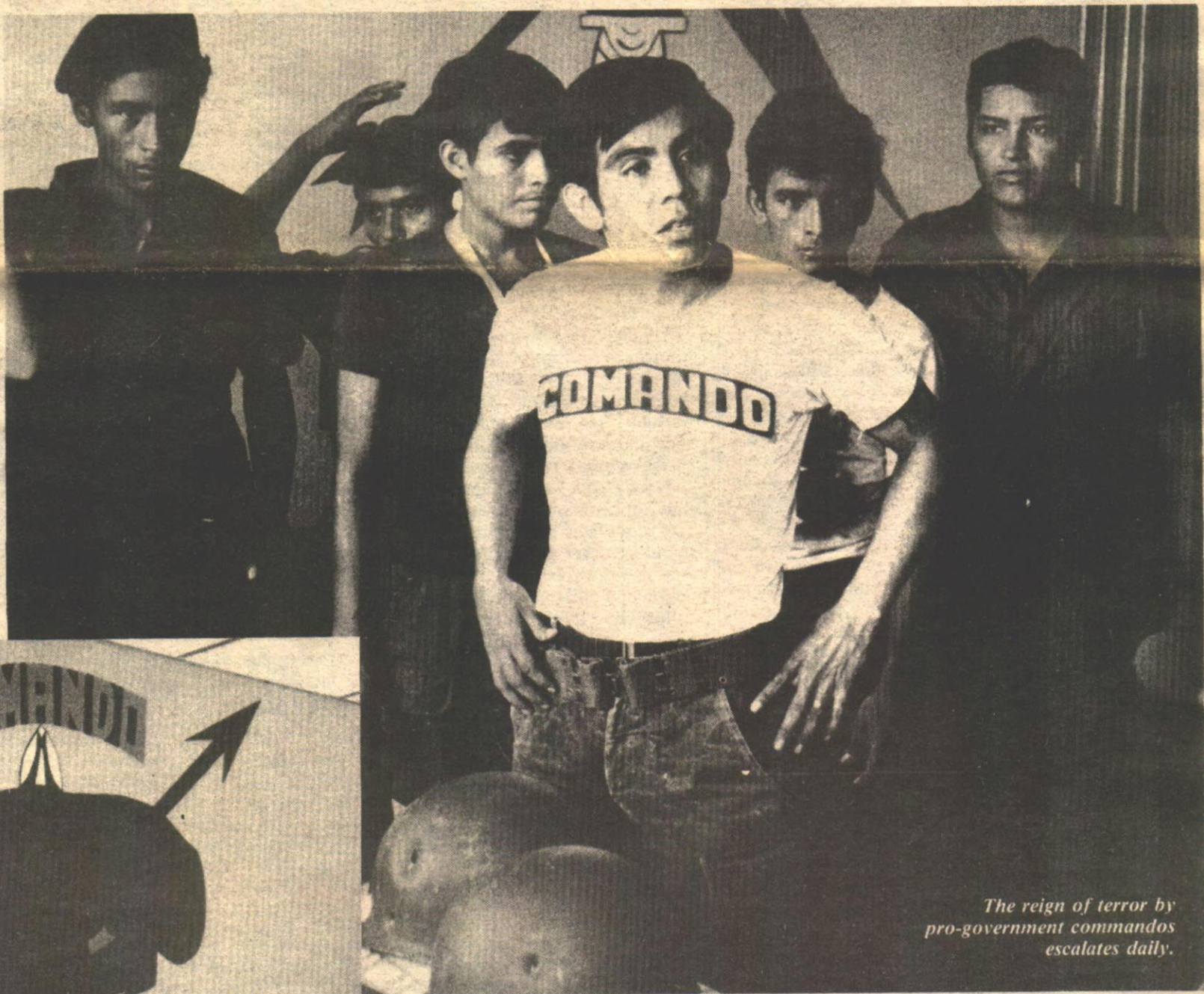


*Diana
Johnstone
on the
Althusser
affair
Page 12*

EL SALVADOR:

RUMORS OF WAR

*The right's savage
murder of opposition leaders
has destroyed all
hope of compromise*

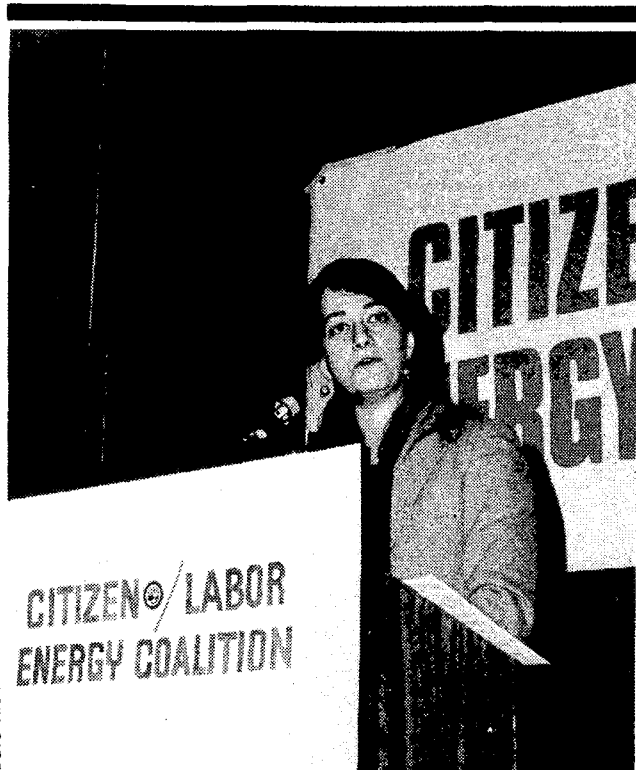


*The reign of terror by
pro-government commandos
escalates daily.*



*Fred Halliday
reports from Kabul*

THE INSIDE STORY



C/LEC director Heather Booth urged the group to alter its stand on electoral politics.

Activists regroup for Reagan years

By David Moberg

CLEVELAND

The conservative Republican victories on Nov. 4 have left many already unsteady liberals in disarray, thinking of retreating even further from the best of the Democratic Party traditions or contemplating four years of rearguard defensiveness. But if the first major gathering of left political activists since the election is any indication, there is also a determination among some labor unions and their allies to use the Reagan years as the opportunity for an ambitious counter-attack.

Meeting back-to-back in Cleveland on the weekend before Thanksgiving, nearly 700 participants in the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition—an amalgam of numerous unions, statewide citizen action groups, public interest organizations and senior citizen lobbies—and 250 from Citizen Action, a new grouping of seven statewide citizen action groups, began laying the groundwork for what may become a new anti-corporate bloc both within and outside of the Democratic Party that will combine direct action and electoral politics.

C/LEC reaffirmed its basic perspective: energy supplies and prices are too important to leave in corporate hands. Both must be controlled by the government in the public interest to assure equity, to minimize disruption of communities, to promote conservation and renewable energy sources and to minimize monopoly power. Although C/LEC will continue its largely unsuccessful campaign to halt total and immediate decontrol of energy prices, its main new strategies focus on the state level, where there are 20 organizations, 11 of them quite active. The new state efforts include full and effective taxation of the energy companies and organization of citizens to apply for energy conservation grants and loans to demonstrate that the paltry \$125 million allocated this year under the solar and conservation bank is inadequate.

The state oil tax campaign is seen partly as a way to capture more of the oil companies' windfall profits for redistributive energy programs such as low-income weatherization aid. It should have special appeal in the states that consume but don't produce oil and natural gas as a way of stemming some flow of money out of the state. In April of this year Connecticut passed a 2 percent tax on gross revenue of major integrated oil companies in the state as a result of Connecticut C/LEC pressure. New York soon followed suit.

But even collection of taxes already on the books could bolster state treasuries. A new C/LEC study es-

timates, on the basis of a study of 19 states, that oil companies fail to report to state governments half the domestic profits reported to the federal government (a discrepancy of about \$5 billion in 1978). States lost as much as \$235 million in potential revenue in 1978 because of such underreporting, and another \$200 million as a result of states' automatically adopting federal loopholes in their own tax structures. For 1980, C/LEC estimates, oil companies will not report \$17 billion in profits, costing the states almost \$800 million.

But the long-range significance of C/LEC has as much to do with the ties that are formed in its efforts as with the campaigns themselves. More labor unions are becoming committed to the idea of coalition politics, and the links formed in energy campaigns often become the basis of coalition work on other issues. The statewide citizen action federation, whether modeled after the Ohio Public Interest Campaign and the Illinois Public Action Council or in a looser, ad hoc form, is becoming a more important political institution. New multi-issue statewide federations are being initiated in Maryland, Wisconsin and Kentucky, building largely on existing C/LEC groups. Other statewide federations, such as the Citizens Alliance in New York (a spin-off of New York Public Interest Research Group's organizing), are also forming or being planned.

Some of these new groups are likely to affiliate with Citizen Action, a network organized last year among OPIC, Public Action, Fair Share, Connecticut Citizen Action Group, Citizen Action Coalition of Indiana, New Hampshire People's Alliance and Oregon Fair Share, with further ties to the Midwest Academy as a training center. Most of these groups share a Saul Alinsky-style community organizing heritage that emphasizes development of neighborhood organizations and leaders through pressure politics on issues of immediate self-interest. They have shunned electoral politics as incompatible with developing community organizations.

A turn to elections.

Now they are reconsidering that strategy and moving toward a serious effort in coalition with the labor movement to develop a common program, pick candidates, train organizers in electoral work and run for office in local, state and congressional races—as well as continue their pressure politics.

Heather Booth, executive director of C/LEC and a founder of the Midwest Academy, made a strong pitch to community leaders and organizers at the Citizen Action meeting—many of whom are hesitant about changing their strategy—that despite their past reasons for shunning electoral politics, if they want to enforce their legislative victories, to pose a real threat to keep legislators accountable, to influence the terms of general political debate and to broaden their alliances, especially with blacks, then they have no choice but to begin running candidates for office.

That will push many of these groups to take new positions, not only on broad questions of economic policy but also on the very touchy "social issues," such as gun control and abortion. But it will also give them the opportunity to develop their own passionate stands on such issues as job creation, tax reform, energy, health, social security, military waste and equal rights.

What Booth has in mind is a common anti-corporate political program that would be supported in 1984 by 500 candidates running for a variety of offices. But there are other models floating about. Illinois Public Action will probably set up its own PAC, or political action committee, within a year, and other states may follow suit. Roger Hickey, from the National Center

for Economic Alternatives, proposes a membership-based "party within a party," dubbed Americans for Rebuilding America, that would operate within the Democratic Party. Lee Webb, an expert on state and local politics, advocates an immediate focus on the redistricting of elected offices by state legislatures and on the 1982 elections, when virtually every legislator will have new boundaries on his or her district and the conservatives will try to consolidate their 1980 gains.

Ira Arlook of OPIC reflected the dominant leadership view at C/LEC in his call for proliferation of multi-issue political coalitions. That will require money, which mainly will come from the unions. (Many of the citizen action groups will be seriously hurt by the anticipated end to VISTA money and C/LEC recently lost a government grant equal to one-third of its budget thanks to a right-wing lawsuit). And there's a need for "clear, simple statements of our vision and goals" from intellectuals and activists, Arlook said.

The center of any emerging left coalition at this point is William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists and head of C/LEC. Winpisinger has been talking with the recently defeated liberal senators and with other leaders in the labor movement, but he's not committed to any one mechanism for advancing the left. He told C/LEC delegates that when a political party shrinks, as the Democrats are now doing, the hard core can gain strength by quantum leaps. "Whether the Democratic Party's hard core is conservative, middle-of-the-road, or progressive is the open question," he said. "We can have no more compromise with either the centrists or the conservatives. It is imperative that we launch a progressive counter-offensive right now."

Later he said that "the crucial decision is whether we have to create another political force, whether we can reclaim the Democratic Party or have to go out and create it... The only way for a third party to become viable is for the country to stay out of war—and that means influence in the Democratic Party—and through grass-roots building. You can't elect senators if you can't elect sheriffs and council members. All the while you're doing that, you've got to keep a foot in the Democratic Party." Winpisinger wants to develop a left program with "1980s solutions," rather than a revived New Deal or Great Society and "packaged in three sentences for the electorate" to make the ideas politically potent.

The shift to electoral politics among the community/labor coalitions was matched by another equally significant move toward more ideological politics. Originally, Bob Creamer of Public Action told the C/LEC gathering, community organizers felt that people had to get a sense of victory on little issues to build their sense of power. "Today I think the situation has fundamentally changed," he said. "To be credible today we have to convince people we have fundamental alternatives to existing political and economic arrangements. Today people realize we have huge problems that can be addressed only by comprehensive alternatives." The energy crisis is a result not of bumbling leaders but of "basic economic arrangements" that have to be challenged and changed, Creamer said. And when they are, the current domination of energy policy by private corporations will seem as absurd to our grandchildren as slavery or monarchy now seems to us.

Nobody thinks the next four years will be easy for the left in the U.S. But if the anti-corporate political ambition manifested in Cleveland spreads throughout the labor movement and among left constituencies, the anticipated failings of Reagan and a conservative Congress may be a blessing in disguise.

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Death squads up ante in El Salvador

By John Clements

OAKLAND, CA

EL SALVADOR IS "THE MOST hazardous assignment in the world," *Newsweek* correspondent Beth Nissen said in the *Columbia Journalism Review* last summer. The *New York Times'* Alan Riding is under a death threat there. Washington radio reporter Rene Temeson has disappeared, and Mexican journalist Ignacio Rodriguez was gunned down by a sniper.

So it was no surprise that the news of the Nov. 27 murder of five members of the executive committee of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) came in bare-bones wire services reports without bylines. And the intimidation of journalists is but one indication of the extreme sensitivity on both sides of the unfolding conflict in Central America to how events are reported and perceived in the U.S.

Was it a coincidence that the Salvadorean right chose Thanksgiving Day—when most Americans' attention was elsewhere—to move on the above-ground leaders of the opposition? Or that the latest attempt against the life of junta moderate Colonel Adolfo Majano took

place on Nov. 4, the day of the U.S. elections? The answers to those questions remain speculative. But some things we know for sure:

- Dozens of workers, peasants and students are killed every day by Salvadorean government troops and right-wing death squads. On Dec. 4 four American women—two of them nuns—disappeared.

- The five leaders of the legal opposition organization were abducted from a press conference Nov. 27, and when their bodies turned up later in the day it was apparent that they had been tortured before they were killed. Forty other people seized at the same time have not been heard from since.

- Those reform-minded members of the government who have not been either killed or purged have either gone over to the left or fled the country. Col. Majano, a leading force behind the Oct. 15, 1979, military coup that ousted strongman General Carlos Romero and a major voice for reform, left El Salvador hours after the bodies of the leftist leaders turned up. Many say he will never return.

- The Salvadorean army failed after several weeks to drive guerrillas out of the northern province of Morazan. It was met by what one army officer described

Continued on page 6



The junta's troops are out-numbered, but well equipped.

ISRAEL

Weizman stakes a claim on the center

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

IT WAS GOOD POLITICAL THEATER, but Ezer Weizman's vote against the government in a parliamentary no-confidence motion and his subsequent expulsion from Menahem Begin's Herut—the leading coalition party—were really no surprise.

Ever since he resigned as defense minister six months earlier amid biting criticism from Begin and finance minister Yigael Hurvitz, Weizman had been an outsider. He had not actively tried to mobilize support within the government. Instead he waited without burning his bridges, cultivating allies to be called on in case the ruling coalition disintegrated on its own or Begin's illness became more serious, and occasionally doing something to keep himself in the limelight.

The last of these antics was the blunder of joining a Jimmy Carter campaign flight a few days before the U.S. election. Even those who criticized Weizman for the step—and his friends did not—would have had to forgive him if Carter had won. But Carter lost, and it was time for the former general to take drastic action at home.

Weizman has a reputation for impulsiveness, but a close look at the political context of his final break with the Likud—as it is now constituted—reveals a keen sense of timing:

- The no-confidence vote itself (which the government survived 57-54) was sponsored by both the Labor opposition and the extreme right, so Weizman successfully avoided tying himself down to any particular view.

- The issue cited in the motion was inflation—unpopular among almost all sectors of the population. Less than a week before the vote, the consumer price index for October was announced—a rise of 11 percent in one month that translated into an annual rate of 250 percent.

- Begin had just returned from a singularly unsuccessful trip to the U.S., where he failed to win an audience with President-elect Reagan but managed to

peevish liberal members of the Jewish establishment by handing out "Jabotinsky Medals" to extreme-right Christian fundamentalist leaders.

- The religious coalition parties had reached new lows in public esteem. One is embroiled in a major scandal, with the minister of religious affairs under investigation for giving and taking bribes; the other is currently trying to exploit its hold on the fragile ruling coalition to push through parliament a medieval law that would make autopsies and organ transplants nearly impossible.



Menahem Begin

- The Labor Party, in the final weeks before its convention, was experiencing a bitter leadership fight between old rivals Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin.

- The West Bank was undergoing a flash of turmoil for the first time in months, with demonstrations and shootings following the shutdown of "Palestine Week" at Birzeit University—an annual cultural-political event that passed quietly in previous years when it was left alone. Weizman's more hawkish opponents had blamed the unrest of last spring on the defense minister's "lenient" policy, and credited the subsequent "quiet" to the hard line taken since. But with 12 Birzeit student leaders in jail and incidents continuing, the tension apparently was sufficient to cause the Israeli High Court to postpone the scheduled announcement of its decision on the appeals of exiled West Bank mayors Fahd Kawasma and Mohammed Milhem.

- Finally, both despite and because of the utter collapse of Yigael Yadin's Dem-

ocratic Movement for Change (DMC) after it won 15 out of 120 seats in 1977, there are plenty of leaders who aspire to occupy the political center in Israel. The polls that indicate Labor could now win an outright majority for the first time ever may be deceiving, since the "undecided" category consistently runs a close second. But since none of the other centrists has made his or her intentions clear Weizman's move gives him a head start.

Weizman was explicit about his intentions of forming a new election list. He even challenged potential partners to stand up and join him, singling out two popular but controversial ex-generals by name: Moshe Dayan, who played a key role in nudging Begin during the Camp David negotiations but quit the government a year ago, and Yitzhak Rabin, who presumably will lose the battle to control the Labor Party. Also "invited" were some of the Likud's liberal faction, who share Weizman's criticism of the Begin government's extremism. Other potential candidates are members of the splintered DMC who have not yet found new homes in the two major blocs.



Ezer Weizman

It is far too early to assess Weizman's chances of putting together a list credible enough to overcome the stigma of the Yadin-DMC fiasco in 1977. His electoral strategy will be the same as theirs: to win enough seats that neither of the two large blocs is strong enough to form a coalition without him. Israel's proportional system is made for such a strategy—the National Religious Party has used it successfully—but arithmetic bad luck

has kept it from working for the DMC or other centrist, breakaway attempts of the past.

It is also too early to predict the ideology of Weizman's new party, assuming it takes shape. Both he and most of his potential partners are pragmatists, anxious to hold or at least share power and flexible enough to bend with its balance. But broad themes can be distinguished:

- For one, Weizman, Dayan and most of the other Israeli "centrists" do not share the extreme right's mystical-nationalist attachment to territory. They would be willing to give up such symbols as the settlements if pressures from the U.S., Egypt and perhaps Saudi Arabia and Jordan could subdue the Palestinians to their liking.

- The centrists would favor a neo-colonial solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict, in which Israel is spared the duties of direct military rule but continues to benefit as an economically dominant power in the region, able to exploit Arab labor and markets in the currently occupied territories and—if possible—beyond.

- Inseparable from this regional vision is a global one that sees Israel—and its future Middle Eastern allies—firmly tied to U.S. interests.

- Economically, the centrists are tied to the pragmatic Israeli capitalists who would like to see the country smoothly integrated into the world market. To achieve this, given the current mess, they recognize the need to drastically reduce military spending and to lower workers' real wages (which have already dropped by between 8 and 14 percent in the last year, according to different estimates).

There are potential flaws in the centrist solution: If peace, on Weizman's terms, can be achieved despite long odds, Israel's workers, freed from the threats of war and terrorism, will be even more unwilling to pay the price of "economic recovery." It was workers' anger that kicked Labor out of power in 1977, and domestic issues are the source of the Likud's unpopularity today.

Nevertheless, a broadly defined, centrist consensus does exist now in Israel, and ideologically it extends beyond those who are floating between the two major blocs to include the Likud's "moderates" and Labor's "pragmatists." Though Weizman may or may not succeed in pulling it all together at this juncture, in the medium range convergence around something close to his views seems likely.

IN THE NATION

PRIVACY

"Greetings" from the state red squad

By George L. Corsetti

DETROIT

AFTER ILLEGALLY SPYING ON citizens for decades, the Michigan state police have been ordered to find 38,000 individuals and 400 organizations and give them free copies of their "subversive" files. In a precedent-setting decision, state circuit court Judge

James Montante told the police to use its drivers' license computer bank to locate the victims of surveillance, and to publish newspaper announcements of the file release for those who cannot be located directly.

The state police mailing comes after years of citizen protest and legal wrangling. In 1974 the Michigan Association for Consumer Protection learned that it was being investigated by state police. Ouraged, the group sued Gov. William

Milliken and the police. The state admitted the probe of the suburban-based consumer group was illegal, but denied the existence of any widespread spy operation. Yet Gov. Milliken ordered the police to begin destroying the "red squad" files. Judge Montante stopped the file shredding.

The state's attempt to destroy the files, coupled with other revelations of FBI and CIA spying, alerted Michigan activists to the far-reaching implications of the consumer group's suit, and the case was expanded to include anti-war and labor activists, socialists and other dissidents. The Detroit Police Department and Mayor Coleman Young were added as parties to the litigation.

In 1976 Judge Montante ruled that Michigan's anarchist and subversive statutes—under which the spying ostensibly had been justified—were unconstitutional. He ordered the "red squads" disbanded and instructed the defendants to work out a method of notifying the victims of surveillance. Now, after four

Anti-war and student groups were, of course, objects of surveillance. But more recent entries showed a growing concern with consumer groups, environmentalists, women, gays and pro- and anti-bus-ing advocates. During the recession of 1974-75, the Detroit police began to focus on the unemployed. As one red squad officer testified, "If those people decide, because of their thinking or this concern for unemployment, to go to the streets and demonstrate, we become involved."

The police also worked closely with corporate security personnel. Files subpoenaed from the Chrysler Corporation, for example, showed a meticulous record-keeping system strikingly similar to the police department's. The files included names and license plate numbers of persons who distributed literature at plant gates, copies of the literature, photos, news clips and organizational charts of dissident groups as well as the personal and political affiliations of employees and non-employees. The corporation's security officers, many of whom had previously been employed by police intelligence units, admitted to cooperating with law enforcement agencies and providing them with information.

The Michigan State Police, in turn, admitted giving information from their "subversive" files to Panax Corporation for use in making background checks on employees and job applicants. (Panax is a conservative Michigan-based newspaper chain whose publisher has been under investigation by the Justice Department and the Securities & Exchange Commission for allegedly acting as an agent of South Africa in attempting to manipulate U.S. public opinion by acquiring the *Washington Star* and *Sacramento Union*.)

Unlike the state police, the Detroit police have yet to establish a timetable for the release of their files, which they admit exceed 100,000. Mayor Young, himself a victim of McCarthy-era witch hunts, has been reluctant to make the files public, arguing that damage suits by surveillance victims would bankrupt the city. Young promised to reveal the names of informants, but so far has failed to do so.

George L. Corsetti is a Detroit lawyer. People who have been politically active in Michigan or believe they may have a file are asked to contact the National Lawyers Guild, 1035 St. Antoine, Detroit, MI 48226, (313)963-0843. The Guild's Political Surveillance Project has agreed to assist victims in obtaining more information and in referring them to attorneys to process damage claims.

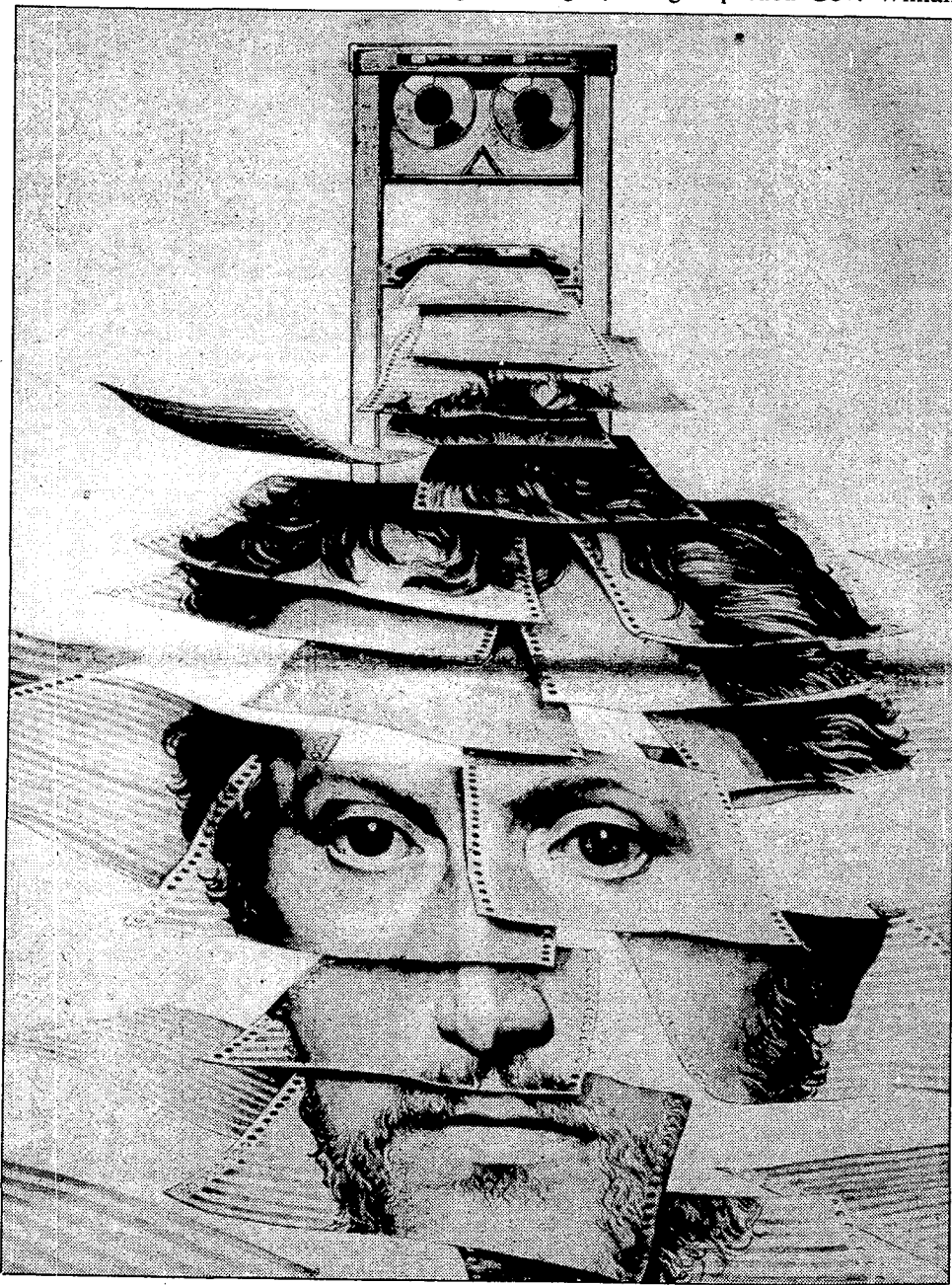
Michigan police must notify 38,000 people in their files.

years of delays and foot-dragging, the state police are finally going ahead with their mailing. (The first batch of notices went out on Nov. 13.)

Proceedings before the court revealed the existence of thousands of secret files that showed city and state police to have been an integral part of a political spying apparatus that included not only the FBI, the CIA and other federal agencies, but also private corporations, which used the information to blacklist dissidents.

Attendance at a demonstration or forum was often enough to open a file, some of which date back to the '30s and '40s. Information—often erroneous—came from banks, utilities, employers, landlords, newspapers and other public sources, as well as from paid police informants.

While FBI and CIA files have been accessible for years through the federal Freedom of Information Act, the Michigan files offer a rare opportunity to view local police surveillance operations. It appears that city and state police were primary information gatherers, and that the results of their work were passed on to other agencies, such as the FBI, on a regular basis.



POLICE

New Orleans cops kill four suspects

By Gary Modenbach

NEW ORLEANS

FACED WITH PROTESTS FROM community groups over the police shootings of four blacks, New Orleans police chief James Parsons resigned Nov. 24. The shootings took place during an investigation of the murder of city patrolman Gregory Neupert, whose body was found Nov. 8 in a residential area near the Algiers-Fischer housing project on the west bank of the Mississippi River.

Though police stated that they had no significant clues as to the identity of Neupert's killer, teams of police immediately began searching the Fischer project and

the black neighborhoods surrounding it and allegedly harassing young people in the area.

On Nov. 11 police shot and killed Raymond Ferdinand, who allegedly was resisting arrest. Although police claim that Ferdinand pulled a knife on them, a young woman who was with Ferdinand when he was stopped stated that the knife was sheathed and inside a small bag. Police have given conflicting accounts of why Ferdinand was being arrested, first stating that he was a suspect in the Neupert killing, then saying that he had thrown down a bottle of pills when they approached him.

Then, on Nov. 13, James Billy Jr. and Reginald Miles, two suspects in the killing of officer Neupert, were shot to death

during early-morning raids on their homes. Sherry Singleton, who lived with Miles, was also killed.

Police said that all three of the victims had attempted to shoot at police and that the officers fired in self-defense. But roommate Kim Landry said that she saw Billy standing with his back to the police and his hands above his head as she was being led out of the house shortly before he was shot. Neighbors of Miles and Singleton said that they heard Singleton pleading, "Don't shoot."

On the day that Billy, Miles and Singleton were killed, Chief Parsons held a press conference in which he indicated that there would be no investigation of police conduct in the shootings. Parsons also said that police had "definite proof" that Billy and Miles had killed officer Neupert, that this proof would be released to the public at a later date and that as far as he was concerned the "case is closed." To date, no "definite proof" has been produced.

Parsons' statements further inflamed public opinion in the black community, which was already concerned about the police shooting of Ferdinand and the Labor Day shooting of Lawrence Lewis Jr. in the Desire Street project. Parsons

quickly became the focus of protests by both black and white community groups. Rose Loving, a school board member and Algiers-Fischer area resident, demanded a complete investigation and explanation of the shootings.

On Nov. 20, Mark Lane and Mary Howell, attorneys for the family of Sherry Singleton, held a press conference at which they stated that they had witnesses to verify that Reginald Miles was in a bar five blocks away at the time of officer Neupert's murder. Later that night, a group of protestors led by a small militant group, the Liberation League, shouted down Chief Parsons at an anti-crime forum sponsored by a local good-government organization.

On Saturday, Nov. 22, a group called the Concerned Citizens of Algiers called for a boycott of all stores in the central business district if Parsons was not removed from office in 72 hours. On Monday morning, Parsons announced his resignation. Rumor has it that he will be replaced by Sidney Cates, a black ex-police officer who currently heads the Housing Authority of New Orleans.

Gary Modenbach is a New Orleans activist.



POLITICS

Did ERA groups just throw money at politicians?

By Barbara Brotman

WITH THE PROPOSED Equal Rights Amendment stalled three states short of ratification, and no momentum in sight as the June 30, 1982, deadline approaches, the obituaries are beginning to appear.

"Who Killed the ERA?" headlines have asked in recent months, with the suspects ranging from chauvinistic state legislators to well-organized campaigns of ERA misinformation. One explanation consistently offered by pro-ERA lobbyists is "money." "They had three times as much money as we did," said Mary Jean Collins, president of the Chicago chapter of the National Organization for Women. (The question of the difference between a contribution and a bribe became a particularly hot subject in Illinois after Wanda Brandstetter, a NOW volunteer, was convicted of bribery for offering State Representative Nord Swanstrom (R-Pecatonica) \$1,000 for a Yes vote in the June 18, 1980, House vote.)

But an examination of campaign disclosure reports filed with the Illinois Board of Elections shows that in this pivotal state—the only northern industrial state that has not voted to ratify the ERA—there has been no such major disparity between the two sides.

Stop ERA, the major anti-ERA lobbying group, did outspend pro-ERA groups in the filing period ending one month before the last general election. It spent \$36,746 in contributions to legislative candidates, while pro-ERA

groups spent \$17,730.

But in the four years prior to that, since ERA contributions began to flow in 1976, the two sides were dead even: Pro-ERA groups contributed \$114,109 in Illinois; anti-ERA groups, including conservative lobbies known to contribute to anti-ERA candidates, gave \$115,660.

There were major differences, however, in the ways the two sides spent their money—differences that may have affected the outcome of the ERA battle in Illinois. And they are differences that tend to support the view of political scientist Andrew Hacker, who argued in a recent *Harper's* that the crucial role in defeating ERA has been played by the anti-ERA women lobbyists, who have been able to sway largely indifferent—rather than viciously chauvinistic—male legislators.

Schlafly's strategy.

The anti-ERA forces spoke with a single voice—that of Phyllis Schlafly, founder of ERA and the guiding inspiration for another anti-ERA group, the Women of Illinois Dinner Committee. And Schlafly has followed a consistent, clearly visible lobbying strategy: She rewards every legislator who votes against the ERA with \$300, \$500, \$1,000 or more before each primary and general election. "We just took them off the roll call," Schlafly said. "We believe in backing up our friends."

The pro-ERA groups had no such strategy. There were 17 different political action committees (PACs) giving contributions in Illinois, some giving in one year and then folding, others giving sporadically over several years. There was no coordinating council; no overall

authority preventing an inexperienced lobbyist like Brandstetter from circumventing the PACs altogether; and there was massive duplication of contributions to a very small number of legislators.

Many Illinois legislators interviewed didn't seem to care much about the ERA as an issue—again, supporting Hacker's view. But they do care passionately about getting re-elected. And a legislator who voted No on ERA could count on a sizable contribution from Stop ERA. One who voted Yes couldn't count on anything.

"Legislators couldn't say pro-ERA forces were strongly behind them, but they could say Stop ERA was," said state Representative John Matijevich (D-North Chicago), the amendment's sponsor in the state House, who has gotten a total of \$25 from pro-ERA groups. "Stop ERA was giving large amounts to many more candidates; pro-ERA groups seemed to highlight two or three districts."

Some legislators who voted for the ERA have never gotten pro-ERA contributions. Or they got contributions from one group in one year, then from another the next or perhaps none at all until two years later, when they got funds from a third. And of the pro-ERA money, \$33,514—30 percent of the war chest since 1976—went to three individual candidates, two of whom lost.

ERA losers.

Harold Byers (D-Highland), for example, holds the distinction of receiving far



and away the largest amount of money from either pro- or anti-ERA groups in Illinois. He received \$17,389 up to the most recent filing period, of which \$16,589 was for one 1978 state Senate primary alone. It accounted for more than half of his total campaign expenditures.

Byers was challenging Sen. James Donnewald (D-Breese), the second-ranking Democrat in the Senate, and a solid No vote on the ERA. Anti-ERA groups gave Donnewald a mere \$700 before that primary, but they mobilized other forces. Schlafly stumped for Donnewald, and Anita Bryant showed up at a local rally four days before the election. Byers lost.

Byers got another \$1,550 from pro-ERA groups in the most recent pre-election filing period for his campaign to regain his former state House seat, with more money coming in after the Oct. 5 pre-election period cutoff. Again, he lost.

ERA groups also supported Jeanne Bradner, a pro-ERA candidate who challenged Rep. Roger Keats, a solid ERA No vote, for a North Shore Illinois Senate seat. The ERA became the major campaign issue when Gov. James

Thompson, who supports the ERA, nevertheless endorsed Keats.

Pro-ERA PACs contributed \$6,650 to Bradner's campaign, while anti-ERA groups contributed only \$400 for that primary to Keats. Keats spent \$14,775 that year; Bradner, \$27,309.

Despite her financial backing, Bradner lost. "I had the party support," Keats explained. "When you have the precinct captains, you don't need the dollars."

On the other side, the legislator who got the most money from anti-ERA groups was Sen. John Friedland (R-South Elgin). Schlafly called his primary fight last spring against Richard Fonte, then a village trustee in a Chicago suburb, "a priority district," and her organization targeted Friedland for special help. Still, in accordance with Schlafly's belief in across-the-board contributions, the anti-ERA target did not bring Friedland nearly as much help as targeted pro-ERA candidates like Byers and Bradner got from their side.

Anti-ERA groups gave Friedland \$3,250, and Stop ERA volunteers addressed envelopes, made phone calls, and did general campaign work for him.

Pro-ERA groups gave \$1,040 to Fonte, and Gov. Thompson even endorsed Fonte, in his first active attempt to defeat a sitting legislator (Friedland had voted against two key Thompson programs). But Friedland won.

As for those legislators who kept changing their votes—and some switched between N and Y votes so often that their voting records read like license plates on the New York State Thruway—none seem to have gotten a cash reward afterwards above and beyond what they might have reasonably expected from the appropriate PACs.

But again, because of Schlafly's steady policy of contributing to every legislator who voted No, those who switched from Yes to No were more likely to be rewarded than those who switched the other way around.

In fact, Rep. Edmund E. Kornowicz (D-Chicago), who agreed to switch his vote to Yes and was flown to Springfield against doctor's orders to cast his Yes vote while wearing a neck brace, has never gotten a pro-ERA penny.

Whatever they may or may not have accomplished on the ERA issue, the anti-ERA groups may have had another effect they didn't count on. Although both sides of the ERA fight are non-partisan, pro-ERA groups tend to give to Democrats and anti-ERA groups to Republicans, since ERA support and opposition tend to follow party lines. Therefore, Stop ERA's sizeable contributions before this general election may have helped the Republicans win control of the Illinois House.

And that coup gives the Republicans far more control over the highly political task of reapportioning the state's legislative and congressional districts according to the 1980 census results. It is an especially significant power in Illinois because voters have approved a constitutional amendment that will whittle down the House from 59 three-member districts, a total of 177 legislators, to 118 single-member districts.

But for the ERA lobbyists, this past election was important for a different reason. "This was the last election of the state legislature before the deadline expires," said Sheila Stoll Clark, president of Illinois NOW. The ERA has come up in the Illinois House eight times; it has received the required two-thirds majority twice, but failed both times in the state Senate.

And the election did not bode well for the pro-ERA women's groups. "The most debilitating part of the election is the loss of the Democratic majority in the House," said NOW's Mary Jean Collins. The Democratic leadership in Illinois has strongly supported the ERA.

ERA proponents figure they lost one or two Yes votes in November's election, but they say neither that nor the substantial contributions this time around by Stop ERA have discouraged them. "We're just going to try to get back in there," Collins said.

Barbara Brotman is a reporter for the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

Salvador

Continued from page 3

as a "strong bloc of enemy forces"—not just scattered groups of guerrillas—and some official sources have admitted that the guerrillas now control the four northern-most provinces that border on Honduras and Guatemala.

• Honduran military and government sources told the Mexican daily *Excelsior* that Guatemalan troops are in their country and that a joint Guatemalan-Honduran force will launch "Operation Sandwich"—intended to crush the guerrillas between invaders from the north and Salvadorean government troops from the south—as early as this month.

• The U.S. has given Honduras \$50 million in military aid this year and its training program for Salvadorean officers in the Panama Canal Zone is the largest in the history of such programs.

In the past several months El Salvador's ruling junta appears to have given up all attempts to establish a popular base of support, abandoning its policy of reform with repression in favor of repression pure and simple.

But the diplomatic efforts of the FDR, which has sent representative teams—including, in some cases, the slain leaders—around the world have succeeded in gaining international support for the opposition. In West Germany, the Social Democratic Party is unequivocally on the side of the front, and the government itself may take that position in the wake of the Nov. 27 killings. Pressures are mounting on the Venezuelan government to end its support of the junta.

The Mexican government makes no secret of its sympathies for the opposition in El Salvador—or of its ambitions to replace the U.S. as the major economic presence in Central America. Mexico's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party fears continued civil war and the specter of fiercely radicalized guerrillas in the region more than it does a "gov-

ernment of national reconstruction" such as the one in Nicaragua. It would almost surely react violently to foreign intervention in El Salvador.

The impending inauguration of Ronald Reagan has lent a new urgency to events in El Salvador. Both sides would prefer to present the new president with a *fait accompli* and are making plans for a major offensive before January.

According to a well-informed source in El Salvador—who must remain anonymous—the balance of forces is this: The left outnumbers government forces and the right by two-to-one. But the latter groups are extremely well equipped, as are the Guatemalan and Honduran armies.

The junta has no popular support. The middle class—those who remain in the country—support the left. One indication of that support is the national strike of bus owners called for Dec. 4 to protest the killings.

A foreign correspondent in San Salvador told this reporter that the atmosphere there is "as warlike as it could be with-

out constant shelling and air raids." Every day now sees several guerrilla attacks on army barracks and police stations. The wire services are clattering with reports of these confrontations and of "armed groups entering the country from all sides, presumably to join the guerrillas." A force of 200 reportedly landed Nov. 30 from the Gulf of Fonseca, which links El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, the "productive alliance," which represents conservative landowners and businessmen in El Salvador, met recently with Reagan advisors and presented them with a document saying that the only way to "counteract communist influence in El Salvador is to destroy this current." Junta member Napoleon Duarte told *Excelsior* that the Reagan administration has offered the El Salvadorean government more military aid.

When the junta met in an emergency session Dec. 2, General Jaime Abdul Gutierrez spoke of "a new alternative," a center-left government that would promote justice and democratization. The opposition said Gutierrez' words are "worthless."

Clearly, this situation is about to explode. And if, as most journalists in Central America are saying, the left is heading for a victory, the key question is how other countries in the region will respond. Will Guatemala and Honduras actually intervene? If so, how will Nicaragua react?

A recent "dissent document," presumably emanating from the State Department or the CIA, says that a regionalization of the conflict would provide the perfect environment for greatly increased Cuban and Soviet influence in Central America.

The same document suggests a "Zimbabwe-style solution" for El Salvador. But that would require the junta and the FDR to sit down at the same table. The Nov. 27 killings of the top FDR leaders would seem to preclude such an option—and in fact it appears that was the goal of the killings.

John Clements works for the Peoples Translation Service.

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Memories of a man of conscience

Enrique Alvarez Cordoba was born into one of the handful of wealthy families that comprise El Salvador's ruling oligarchy. Millionaire cattle rancher, former head of the Salvadorean Coffee Company and agriculture minister under three military governments, he lived 49 of his 50 years as a member of the monied elite. As late as January, he served in the cabinet of the ruling civilian-military junta.

But Alvarez died a revolutionary. President of the Revolutionary and Democratic Front (FDR), he was tortured, mutilated, then shot to death with five other FDR leaders on Thanksgiving Day.

We met Alvarez in August when he toured the U.S. as part of an FDR delegation sponsored by the National Council of Churches. Its mission was to convince the American people and government to stop sending military equipment to the junta.

After Alvarez spoke at a northside Chicago church, we talked with him over beer and margaritas at a nearby Mexican restaurant. This gentle, urbane man was a reluctant revolutionary. He resigned from the government charging that the murderous right-wing violence against peasants, religious reformers and political progressives thwarted the reforms the junta pretended to favor. "How could I remain involved in a government that kills human beings as casually as a farmer might kill chickens for the market?" he asked. Like Catholic Archbishop Oscar Romero, murdered last March after he dared to denounce the right-wing terrorism, Alvarez was a conservative man. He joined the popular opposition because his conscience left no other choice.

Alvarez knew he courted death by returning home. By last summer his name had appeared on at least three right-wing assassination lists.

—Steve Askin and Carole Collins

IN THE WORLD

AFGHANISTAN



Rebels in Herat province have killed 300 teachers and destroyed 102 schools since last December.

It seems Karmal is here to stay

By Fred Halliday

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

THE FIRST IMPRESSION ONE gets on arriving in the Afghan cities of Kabul and Herat is that here, at least, the situation is calm. By day the streets of both cities are full of people, and the busy shops appear well-stocked. There is little overt military presence in either town, though in Kabul Russian civilians can be seen going about their business.

Night falls around 5:30 and soon afterwards Soviet and Afghan military patrols come onto the streets to enforce the curfew that begins at 10:00 in the capital and an hour earlier in Herat. But even then there seems to be little military action. In the seven nights I was in Afghanistan I heard less than half-a-dozen bursts of gunfire. There certainly is some rebel presence around these towns, but the level for recent weeks appears to have been substantially exaggerated. A widely circulated report of an Afghan army mutiny at the Pul-i-Sharqi base near Kabul in late October, for instance, was without foundation.

Yet if the cities appear to be under government control this is not true of the countryside—where 90 percent of the Afghan people live. It is hard to form a general impression of such a fragmented land as Afghanistan; flying over the central mountains one gets a sharp sense of just how difficult it would be for any regime to exert authority in this wild and never-governed land.

Government officials and some Western sources concur in the view that fighting has tapered off since a spate of major clashes in June and July. There has been no sign of the great post-Olympics Russian offensive predicted by Americans, and both Russian officials and the commander of the Kabul garrison, Colonel Khalil, said that the rebels have now turned to working in much smaller groups of one or two dozen men. An independent observer who visited the lower Kunduz valley in mid-October reported that life there appeared to have returned to normal following a major cleanup operation by Russian troops, and in parts of Khost and Pakhtia local tribal militias loyal to the central government have taken responsibility for enforcing control.

Yet the overall situation appears to

be extremely unstable. A variety of rebel groups, only tenuously connected to the political forces seated in exile in Peshawar, are operating in the Afghan countryside. Their efforts are focused on the state's infrastructure, hitting at roads and bridges and trying to destroy those who sympathize with the Kabul government. Western sources estimate that up to 50 percent of all government medical and educational facilities in the rural areas have been destroyed by the rebels this year. In Herat province, I was told that 300 school teachers had been killed and 102 schools destroyed since last December. Girls' schools and women's adult literacy courses have been a favorite target for the Islamic guerrillas, and in some cases couples who married according to the new revolutionary marriage laws have been assassinated.

The level of the Soviet presence is hard to evaluate. Russian sources put the number of their troops in Afghanistan between 40,000 and 45,000—Western estimates are twice that.

But the Russians face two major problems in their campaign to support the Kabul government. First, they have neither the troops nor the political capacity to hold down the rebel areas in any permanent fashion. The most they can do is drive out rebel forces and then withdraw. The rebels can later move back in and even if the population is sympathetic to the central government, the latter is in no position to offer protection. The government has refused to arm the general rural population, leaving those loyal to it in a precarious situation.

The second problem is the uncertain loyalty of the Afghan army itself. Afghan military sources assured me that "90 percent" of the Afghan forces were loyal to the government, and one certainly sees a large number of Afghan troops on patrol duties. The plane that took me back to Kabul from Herat carried about 80 new Afghan recruits for training. But it does seem that Afghan soldiers are reluctant to engage in heavy fighting against the rebels.

"There are two things people outside must understand about Afghanistan," declares the urbane foreign minister, Shah Mohammad Dost. "The first thing is that a revolution has occurred in this country. It was long overdue, given the abject poverty of our people, and it is irreversible. The second thing is that no country has the right to interfere in our

internal affairs. Pakistan is helping those who oppose the Afghan revolution, and is using our dispute over the joint frontier as a pretext for open aggression."

The foreign minister's themes are those emphasized by many in official positions in Afghanistan. The relatively small group of urban-educated intellectuals and military officers who came to power in April 1978 feel that they are trying to bring progress to their country, and that despite the many problems they face and the criminal mistakes of the previous presidents Taraki and Amin, the project of transforming Afghan society remains a valid and imperative one.

Afghan officials refer frequently to what they term "the new phase," that is, the period since Dec. 27 of last year when the Hafizullah Amin regime was overthrown and replaced by that of Babrak Karmal, leader of the *Parcham* or "Banner" faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The officials insist that it was the *Parcham* underground inside Afghanistan that overthrew Amin, and that Babrak Karmal and his associates were brought back to Afghanistan some days earlier, with Soviet help, to prepare for this move. Throughout government one now meets *Parcham* personnel who lived through the Amin period—some, like Babrak Karmal himself, in exile, others on the run and in hiding, and many, such as the Kabul garrison commander Col. Khalil or the head of the women's organization Soraya, being tortured in prison.

The Amin period hangs like a nightmare over the whole Afghan government. It was Amin's brutal and authoritarian policies that dissipated the widespread if passive sympathy the revolutionaries at first enjoyed. In one sub-province of Farah province alone—an area with a total population of around 4,500—I was told that 36 local people were taken away and shot merely because they had a bit more land than others. Many thousands died in both the rural and urban purges.

Babrak Karmal has tried to reverse Amin's policies in many respects. Land reform and changes in the position of women are being soft-pedalled. Far fewer people are in prison for political opposition; about 60 former Amin supporters remain in jail, but most of the hundreds arrested during demonstrations earlier this year in Kabul have now been released. The incidence of torture has declined to near-zero, according to inde-

pendent reports.

But this new phase has brought its own problems. It has proven extremely difficult for Karmal to reunite the warring *Parcham* and *Khalq* factions within the party. The *Khalq* followers all repudiate Amin, but they remain loyal to the memory of President Taraki, whom Amin deposed in September 1979, and they claim that they are still the majority within the party. While *Khalq* emblems have been removed from some public places, such as the control tower of Kabul airport, signs of support for the *Khalq* are still widespread.

The *Parchamites* see little difference between Amin and Taraki and consider the latter a vain and idle man who enjoyed the flattery of Amin. They managed, after some months, to expel *Khalq* leader Assadollah Sarwari from Afghanistan, on the grounds that, as head of the secret police under Taraki, he had been responsible for some of the worst violations of human rights. They also bowed to popular indignation and executed 16 former associates of Amin's implicated in the massacres, even though Karmal had at first promised that he would not execute anyone.

An even bigger problem for the new Afghan government is the Soviet military presence. Given the strength of the rebels and the demoralized condition of the Afghan army, it is unlikely that the Karmal government could survive an immediate and complete Soviet pullout. The Russians intervened first to help remove a blood-thirsty tyrant, namely Amin, and secondly to allow the Afghan party time to rectify its policies and consolidate itself. The first goal has been achieved; the second is proving more difficult. The very presence of the Soviet forces arouses a patriotic response among many Afghans, even if they abhor the atrocities of the rebels.

The key to the Afghan dilemma lies in two interrelated factors. One is the government's ability to prove that its "new phase" does offer something genuine and attractive to the Afghan population and that it can enforce its control in those areas where it is trying to carry out social and economic reforms. A great mass of the population is now fleeing to the towns precisely because of the uncertainty and fighting in the countryside.

The other factor is outside involvement. The rebels may complain they are

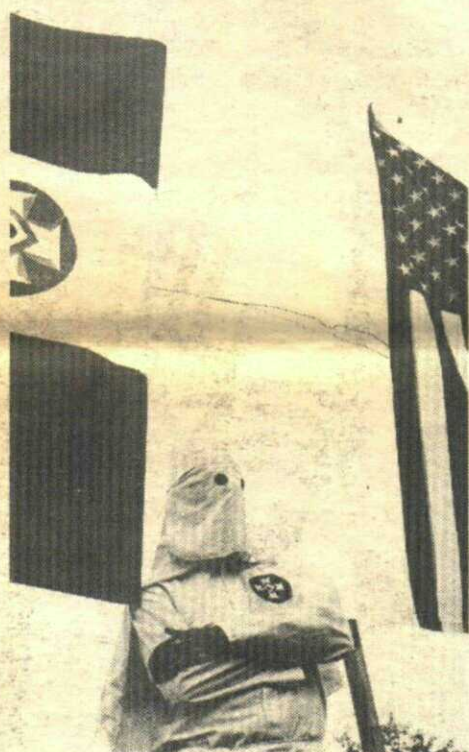
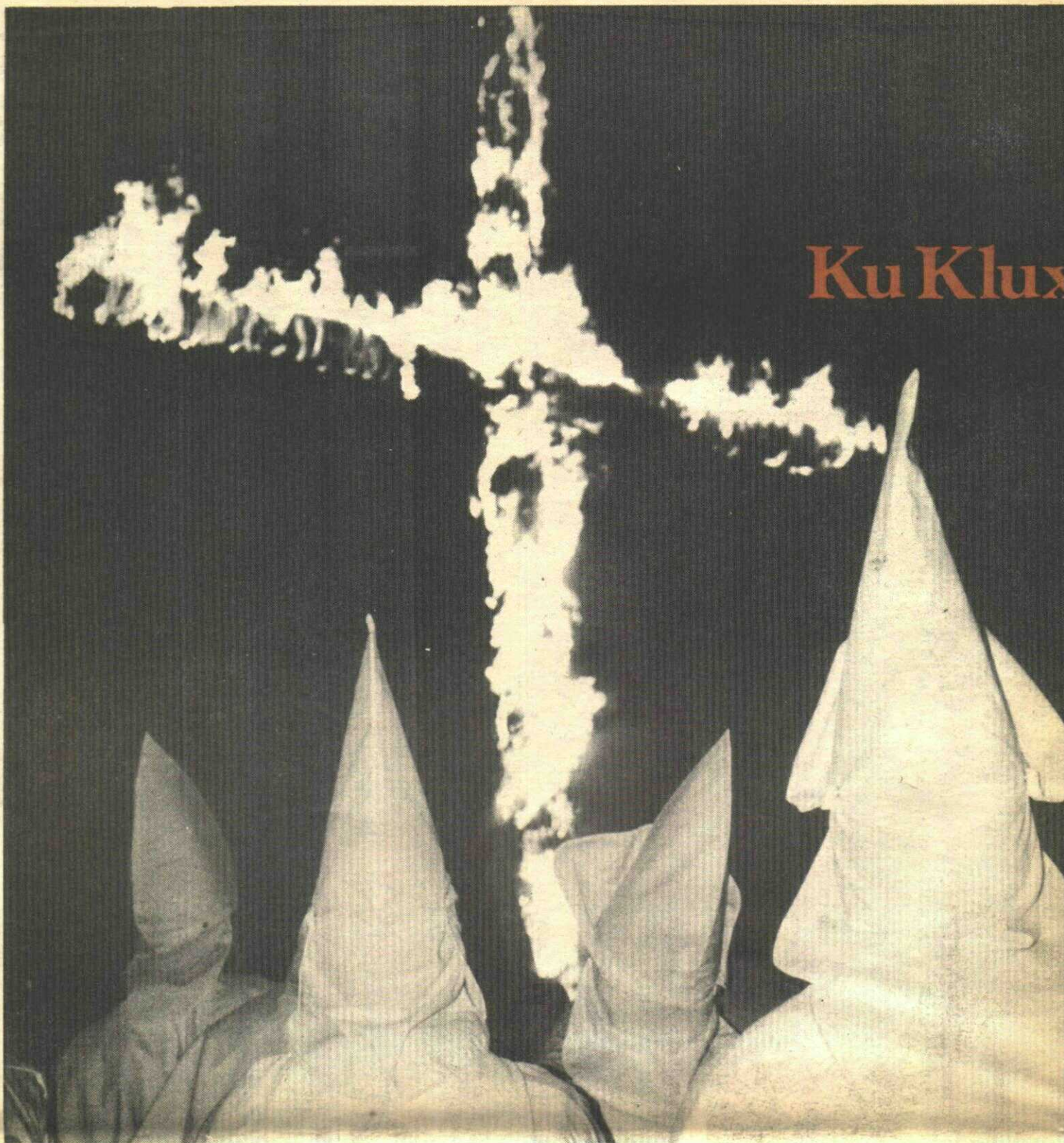
The most obvious way to promote a Russian pullout is to call for negotiations with Pakistan to close the frontier.

not getting enough support from the West, but some arms are reaching them from Egypt, Britain, the U.S. and China, and Pakistan is providing an open frontier and sanctuary to them. The Afghan government certainly exaggerates the role that this outside support plays to downplay the internal sources of the rebellion, but few can accept Pakistan's professions of innocence or deny the fact that closing the border would seriously undercut the rebels inside Afghanistan.

In this context, the choice lies with those outside Afghanistan who denounce the Soviet presence there. If their aim is to create conditions under which Soviet forces can be withdrawn, then there is a clear way forward, involving negotiations between Kabul and Islamabad on a joint policy to close the frontier. But if the aim is to topple the Afghan regime then there would appear to be no room for negotiation. The "irreversibility" of the Afghan revolution appears to be something both the Afghan government and the Soviet Union are firmly committed to, as Karmal's recent visit to Moscow confirmed.

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute.

Ku Klux



While Ronald Reagan's presidential election is possibly the most important manifestation of the current conservative trend, it may not be the most dramatic. That dubious distinction may belong to the resurgence in America's industrial heartland of the hooded cowls, night rallies and burning crosses of the Ku Klux Klan.

Born near Chattanooga, Tenn.,

the Klan is best known for its part in dismantling Reconstruction in the post-war South and reversing the economic and political gains of Dixie's blacks. In the '20s, the Klan surfaced once more in southern Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, where massive night-time rallies were lit by the headlights of antique roadsters.

And, on Oct. 25, the Klan resurrected its flaming crosses in the North with the first Ku Klux Klan

rally in Pennsylvania in 30 years.

The rally, on a 300-acre farm in south-western Pennsylvania near the West Virginia border, attracted between 500 and 1,000 enthusiastic participants, despite the cold rain that later turned to snow. It was billed as the kick-off of a massive Klan recruitment drive in the North. According to Jim Locke, head of the Pennsylvania Klan, Klansmen from nine northern states, some as far away as New Hampshire, participated in the rally.

But the rally was also the culmination of a successful local recruitment drive among the industrial workers of the Pittsburgh area. Klan activity has long been on the rise in neighboring West Virginia. According to Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson of Louisiana, national leader of the Klan, it has only recently spilled over into Pennsylvania. The result, he said, has been the recruitment of as many new Pennsylvania Klansmen since August as in the previous five years.

Indeed, the Klan has made deep inroads among the unemployed steelworkers of such U.S. Steel mills as the Duquesne Works and Braddock's Edgar Thompson Works.

It would be convenient, but ill-advised, to dismiss these blue-collar converts to the Klan as mere racists. Racism is in evidence, of course, but the Klan's appeal is attractive for more complex reasons.

A bricklayer from a small town north of Pittsburgh worked a full day on Saturday, Oct. 25, then drove in his work clothes to the Klan rally to sign up as a member. While some recruits around him were joining because they opposed integration and approved of the Klan's advocacy of white supremacy, he echoed many others at the rally:



Klan Rally



"I think we regular people should have our jobs," he explained, "instead of giving them to the minorities. Instead of minority groups getting them, Americans should get them. I believe I should have equal rights with the minorities. Just because a person is black, Jewish or even a woman, they shouldn't have priority over us when we apply at a steel mill. It's favoritism. Everything should be equal."

But, besides being a political group seeming to fight for jobs, equality and economic rights, these working-class converts also view the Klan as a religious group. "That's why I'm here," continued the bricklayer. "I'm a religious man, a Baptist. I go to church. They stand for what's right."

The major symbol of the Klan's Christian faith, of course, is the burning cross that symbolizes, Locke informed us, "the Word of Christ lighting up the world and overpowering darkness."

The politico-religious nature of the Klan makes it attractive to the hitherto politically silent religious fundamentalist who is now being urged by leaders of organizations like the "Moral Majority" to become politically active—for Christ.

The religious convert is directed in a holy crusade against the political left. "In this fight for God," their literature proclaims, "we will not tolerate denominational dissension of any nature. Christian unity is necessary to oppose our common Marxist enemy, who would utterly destroy the Christian faith. The Klan is world-wide. Wherever there are white people—we are. Our Communist and Jewish enemies are all over the world and we are there to meet and defeat them."

The main target of Klan antagonism, blacks, are not treated



so categorically. The Klan presents itself as a white advocacy group and, indeed, was even perceived by some local residents as a white equivalent to the NAACP.

The Klan, its leaders say, does not preach hatred of blacks. True, it wants separation of the races, but that is for the benefit of all. It is not blacks (their literature doesn't use the word "nigger") as a race they oppose, but *individual* blacks. "Today," their brochures say, "many people have experienced the blacks firsthand and have seen the savagery and animalism in many of these people." (Italics added.)

This approach allows them to deny racist attitudes toward blacks as a group—and insist that they only oppose the "worst" elements among blacks.

Nevertheless, the Klan speaks to the fears of its recruits, and race war is presented as a future threat as real as present economic hardships. Imperial Wizard Wilkinson revealed the strategy of Klan recruitment: Convince whites that blacks are on the verge of launching a national race war similar to the Florida uprisings, which neither the police nor the National Guard will be able to handle. At that point, the Klan will step in to save America.

In preparation for this, the Klan has already established a mobile, clandestine training facility in

Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson (below) was photographed at a 1978 Klan rally in Seabrook, N.H., by Lionel Delevingne. Other photos on this page were taken by Jack Spratt at a rally in Scotland, Conn., this September. Both Delevingne and Spratt are members of The Picture Group.



northern Alabama called "My Lai," where elite recruits are trained in combat skills. The facility is so called because what happened at My Lai, they say, was neither a mistake nor an atrocity—it was an admirable and patriotic action to be emulated in the coming race war.

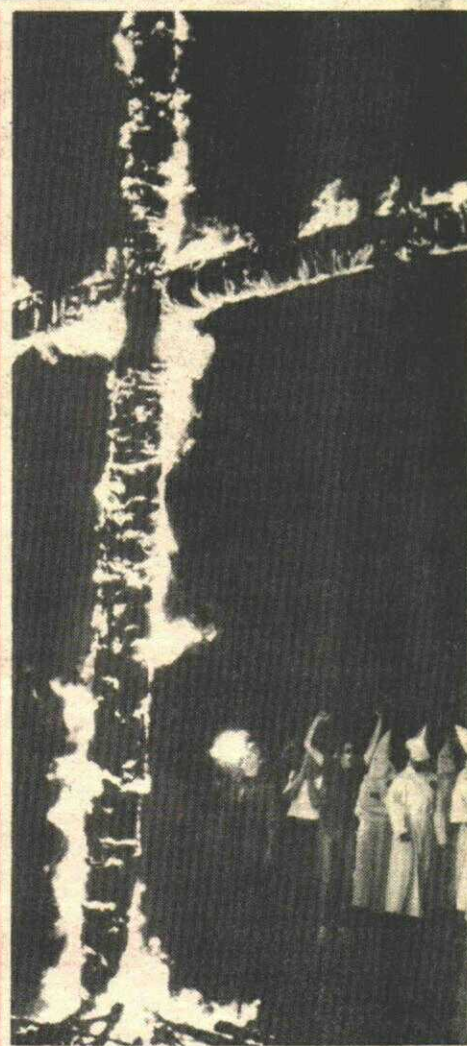
The Klan strategy seems to work. Wilkinson spoke for more than an hour to an enthusiastic reception and, as one rally participant told us, "Wilkinson got down about it. He told the way it was—and the way it's going to be, I guess."

For local Klan leaders, the rally was considered a success. "It's a start," said one Klansman. "It's getting larger every day. Sooner or later it'll get large enough and we'll get our own way."

Wilkinson vowed to the wildly cheering Klansmen that the Klan would hold another giant rally in the Pittsburgh area in April at which 10,000 Klansmen would attend. "If you think this is a rally," yelled Wilkinson, "just wait till spring!"

Meanwhile, Pennsylvania Klan leader Jim Locke stated that the Klan would continue building in southwestern Pennsylvania, "acquiring people's faith and fighting for the rights of the human race."

"People fear the Klan," he said. "But they're getting acquainted with us. We're not hiding anymore."



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

UNCOVERED

IN YOUR IMPRESSIVE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY issue (*ITT*, Nov. 5), you criticized the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's focus on electoral work on the national rather than state and local level. *ITT* suggests that socialists begin the long march to state power by concentrating on congressional and state legislative races. Given the limited monetary resources of today's democratic left, serious congressional campaigns are financially prohibitive except where left candidates already have high political visibility. A serious congressional campaign budget surpasses the annual budget of DSOC, the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, the Progressive Alliance and most other national democratic left organizations. State legislative and city council politics are the arenas in which socialists can first make their electoral mark. And *ITT* has not covered in full the noteworthy strides DSOC members and chapters have made in these arenas in the past few years.

This election proved to be no exception. Despite painful defeats suffered by the left, most DSOC members running for state and local office managed to avoid being smothered by Carter's coattails. In Maine DSOC activist Harlan Baker won reelection to the Maine House of Representatives by a 2-1 margin, thanks to labor backing and DSOC and NOW support. With help from Ann Arbor DSOC, Perry Bullard won reelection to the Michigan House where he serves as chair of the Labor Committee. After winning a hotly contested primary (see *ITT*, Oct. 1), Tom Gallagher was elected to the Massachusetts lower house. DSOCer Harry Britt was reelected as a San Francisco Supervisor. State Assemblyman Jerrold Nadler scored a big reelection win on New York's Upper West Side. And Zoltan Ferency won election as an Ingham, Mich., County Commissioner, carrying a traditional Republican district. In the only significant loss suffered by a DSOC member, Niilo Koponen came in seventh in a six-seat at-large district of the Alaska State House, losing the sixth seat by a narrow margin to a Democrat.

The above victories indicate that socialists running on a locally-relevant anti-corporate program can win. However, given the national (international) nature of the American crisis and the constraints it places on the possibility of local change, we cannot ignore the imperative of building a strong national movement. Socialism cannot simply be built at the "grassroots." We must learn to create a political presence in all the arenas in which our nation's politics is determined.

—Joseph Schwartz
Brooklyn, N.Y.

SILICON BLUES

WE TOOK GREAT INTEREST IN SUE Martinez and Alan Ramo's article (*ITT*, Oct. 8) about health/safety and unionization issues in the silicon-electronics industry.

Orange County, Fla., is presently courting Westinghouse in an effort to bring a computer-chip factory to our area. Members of the Council of Community Based Organizations are dealing with the fallout this top-level negotiation is already producing—sewage treatment problems, major highway and road construction projects through the black community, CETA training pro-

grams, etc. Thanks to your article, we now know that we have more grave issues with which to deal.

—Becky Acuna
Orlando, Fla.

DEFAMATION

IAM ANNOYED TO FIND MYSELF AC-CUSED of being an "unaware anti-Semite" by somebody who is allowed to withhold his name! (*ITT*, Letters, Nov. 19.)

Anonymous defamation has largely been banned from the American press. I'd like to see it banned from *ITT*. Is that asking too much?

Apart from that issue, I wonder if these people who so lightly fling about these accusations realize that they do nothing to create a more reasoned atmosphere. It was not my aim to discuss the Zionist case against Redgrave; and I will not be told that I *must* address this favorite grievance. To direct my interest elsewhere does *not* make me an anti-Semite of any sort, as I'm sure most would agree.

—Lee Baxandall
Oshkosh, Wisc.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

THE NOV. 5 ISSUE OF *ITT* INCLUDED a two-page advertisement from AFSCME about an elderly man named Dan Radovsky. The ad says that Radovsky died because proponents of deinstitutionalization failed to provide adequate community care following his transfer from an institution to the community. It ends with a call for "making decent institutional and community-based care available to all who need it."

AFSCME's position on deinstitutionalization is misleading and reactionary.

It supports public employees who work within the institutions against residents who are forced to bear the maltreatment of institutionalized living.

AFSCME's interests are understandable. There are over 64,000 union employees in the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene alone. As institutions are closed, those workers lose jobs. Yet, it should not be the institutionalized person's burden to correct this nation's structural unemployment.

Despite AFSCME's claim to the contrary, institutions cannot be made "decent." They provide a completely segregated existence in which it is impossible to achieve an independent or semi-independent lifestyle. All this at an average cost to the public of \$34,000 a year per resident.

The answer is not simply deinstitutionalization. While a necessary first step, deinstitutionalization only places people out in a community for which they have not been prepared or in which they find little support.

The solution is carefully planned community integration. There are already outstanding examples. Some take the form of self-help movements such as the Mental Patients' Liberation Front and others the form of government supported community residential programs as can be found in literally every major metropolitan area in the country.

Rather than attack the first major advance for institutionalized people in decades, AFSCME should be supporting that effort by working to develop quality community alternatives operated by union members and by consumers themselves.

—Michael Berres and Douglas Biklen
Syracuse, N.Y.

SO DO WE

I'VE BEEN A SUBSCRIBER TO *ITT* FOR about six months now, having read it irregularly for some time before subscribing. I'm increasingly pleased with the improving quality of the paper, and the useful role it is playing in building a viable U.S. left, and clarifying what the political organization and policies of such a left will look like. I'm doing my part in building your circulation by introducing *ITT* to all those I think might be enticed by it, and have had a fair amount of success. I wish all other subscribers would do the same!

ITT is one of the few papers I've seen

that has no index. I have frequently found myself thumbing through issue after issue to find a particular story relevant to a class I am preparing, a public talk I am committed to give, a book review I wish to consult, or an article useful to one of the several movements I assist. Some sort of index would enable me to make much more effective and efficient use of back issues. A cumulative index would also be quite useful.

—Phil Antweiler
Houghton, Mich.

Editor's note: In These Times is indexed by the Alternative Press Index.

SYSTEMIC ARGUMENT

CONTRARY TO YOUR RECENT HEADLINE, "Small parties hurt by Reaganophobia," the small parties were in fact hurt by the nature of the electoral system. It is this system which creates "Reaganophobia." A vote for a third party is a vote for your least desired choice under a winner-take-all arrangement.

When people have the causal sequence backwards, as the people from the Citizens Party and Libertarian Party do, there is no chance for a solidly-grounded involvement in electoral politics.

Despite the evidence that has developed from historical and comparative studies of electoral systems in favor of this systemic argument, the left gives no sign of taking the message seriously. The Progressive Party of 1948 is followed by the Peace and Freedom Party of 1968 and the Citizens Party of 1980, one disappointing showing after another, as if there was nothing new under the sun for the left to learn or do.

This is a most discouraging situation. Nowhere is it written that people must keep trying to start a third party of the left when "the structure" (of which so many like to talk when it comes to the economy) is generating the very mentality decade after decade that is now pawned off as mere "Reaganophobia" in its latest incarnation."

—G. William Domhoff
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

The unique orthodoxy of Dorothy Day



Wide World

When Dorothy Day was buried last week, a funeral mass was held at the Church of the Nativity on the Lower East Side, right around the corner from the Catholic Worker House of Hospitality where she lived and died. The procession followed a plain pine coffin down East 3rd Street to 2nd Avenue. Some of the onlookers were winos, the sort of people for whom Dorothy and the Worker had labored for almost half

a century, living the Sermon on the Mount in their daily lives. At the church door, the Cardinal Archbishop of New York greeted the mourners—he had offered them St. Patrick's Cathedral, but was turned down—and then left. That was, I think, an act of sensitivity: this death did not belong to the hierarchy but to the rank and file.

There were some well-known people in the procession—Cesar Chavez, Dave Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, Jack Egan from Notre Dame—but most were activists. Dorothy, who had been a feminist and socialist before World War I and a member of the Greenwich Village bohemians in the time of Eugene O'Neill and Hart Crane, had converted to Catholicism in the 1920s, and then, on May Day 1933, had started the Catholic Worker to prove, among many other things, that Catholicism could be genuinely radical. The movement flourished in those first years. Out of it emerged the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the Catholic interracial movement, the Catholic peace movement and practically every other left tendency in the church.

Dorothy was a pacifist anarchist in the tradition of Kropotkin, Tolstoy and Dante. (A wag once said she believed in the separation of church and no state.) When she opposed Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia she lost support among many Italian Americans; when she came out against Franco in the Spanish Civil

War, more Catholics were scandalized; and her principled opposition to World War II (which I never shared) isolated her more. But she stuck to her principles with a serene tenacity.

I lived at the Worker in 1951 and '52. We opposed the Korean War, fought for clemency for the Rosenbergs and defended the civil liberties of Communists in the period of Joe McCarthy. Cardinal Spellman, the cold warrior who headed American Catholicism at the time, could not figure Dorothy out: she was as theologically orthodox as she was politically unorthodox. In the '50s she led a civil disobedience movement against air-raid drills; in the '60s she was in the forefront of the struggle against the war in Vietnam; and in her 70s she was arrested as a participant in the United Farm Workers strike.

Perhaps the church will make her a saint. If that happens it will be well to remember that she was an extraordinarily complex and human person, deeply immersed in Dostoevsky and the new French theology, yet much more guided by her emotions than any theory. People, religious or not, console themselves in the presence of death by saying that the person has not "really" died, that the spirit lives on. In the case of Dorothy Day, that is a profound truth, not a pious wish.

—Michael Harrington

Michael Harrington is national chair of DSOC.

IN DEPTH

Grenada retreats from its promise of elections

By Jay R. Mandle

A RECENT VISIT TO GRENADA CONFIRMS THAT THAT country's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) has firmly turned that island away from the deadend of corruption and brutality associated with the former government of Eric Gairy. In the fields of education, health, housing and agriculture, Maurice Bishop's government has instituted programs beneficial to large numbers of Grenadians that also promise to begin economic growth. These achievements have kindled among Grenadians of all walks of life a feeling of hope and the optimistic nationalism essential for social advance.

The PRG essentially is a product of a coup. Under the tyrannical Gairy regime, Maurice Bishop was the leader of a left opposition, the New Jewel Movement (NJM). The NJM had substantial, but by no means universal, support in the country. In March 1979 the NJM leadership was tipped that their names were on a hit list. In a preemptive move Bishop and his followers captured Grenada's principal military base before dawn on March 13, 1979. Most of Gairy's soldiers fled. There was only one fatality. Bishop immediately declared the existence of a Provisional Revolutionary Government and took command. He promised that, unlike the situation under the old regime, democratic freedoms, including "political opinion," would be respected and that "absolutely free and fair elections will be held."

But NJM members saw themselves as more than caretakers preparing for elections that might result in their own removal. They saw themselves as revolutionaries in office. They had dethroned a dictator and seized power. They were agents of social change, not merely the force that rid Grenada of Eric Gairy.

In this determination the PRG was reinforced from two directions. Domestically their efforts were bolstered by the unleashing of long pent-up energy. A critic of the Bishop government, Alister Hughes, writes that with the overthrow of Gairy "a love of country bubbled over and resulted in positive actions. People

from all sectors of the community came forward voluntarily with offers of skills and capabilities."

External forces tended to propel the PRG in the same direction. Within a month of Bishop's accession to office, Cuba not only recognized the new government, but also delivered a shipment of arms for the new army being created. At the same time, U.S. ambassador Frank Ortiz let it be known that the Americans would not be pleased to see closer relations develop between Grenada and Cuba. Predictably, this statement tended to reinforce the growing fraternal relations between the two Caribbean nations. The U.S., to which Gairy had fled, increasingly came to be seen as the locus of both opposition and destabilization.

This was the context in which initiatives in health, education, housing and agriculture occurred. It was also the context, however, in which the Bishop government began to retreat from its initial commitment to elections and free political dialogue. Indeed the legitimacy of an opposition came increasingly to be questioned. The one national newspaper, the *Torchlight*, was shut down, as a result of its alleged effort to destabilize the country.

Perhaps even more significant, public meetings of the anti-Gairy, Grenada National Party (GNP) were disrupted by PRG supporters, with the endorsement of both the prime minister and deputy prime minister. Maurice Bishop at the time was quoted as saying that if the GNP attempted to hold another meeting

a comparable action would occur, because "I think people are genuinely convinced at this point of the need for national unity." Finally, the promised election was postponed indefinitely. Though the prime minister continues to say that "for us the question of elections remains a firm commitment," neither a date nor the political ground rules for the choosing of national leaders has been announced. In this regard a party organizer told me that if the people ever do want an election, the PRG would certainly hold one, though it was not made clear how such a desire would be expressed or how a decision whether or not to hold a vote would be made.

This retreat has been defended by PRG supporters. Spokespersons for the NJM argue that elections in the region have never accomplished anything of significance and that the people are anxious to get on with the job of nation-building without the distraction of an electoral campaign. Recently the noted West Indian author, George Lamming, defended this position by arguing that "ballot-box arrangements are not a prerequisite for democracy" and that if the PRG can "put its people to work and show very obvious benefits" the entire Caribbean will be confronted with the challenge of examining its own concepts of democracy.

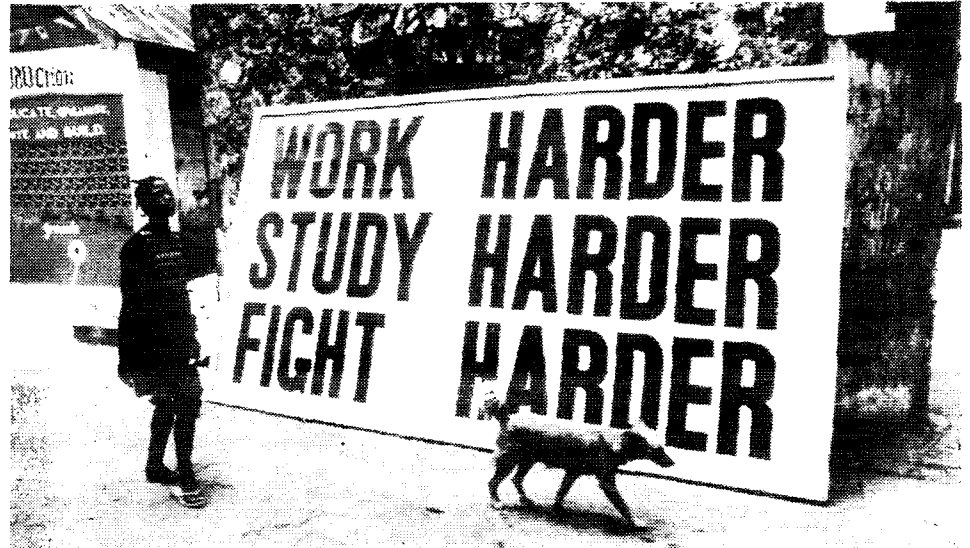
Much of this sounds as if the current leadership in Grenada does not intend to construct a society in which contending forces will be able to contest for power. It is true that elections in the Caribbean have frequently been meaningless. But

Grenada's future, "no plan but theirs will be considered [and] no political party but theirs will be allowed to function."

Concern has been expressed about Grenada's support in the United Nations of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and about the wisdom of its flaming anti-imperialist rhetoric while still dependent upon the North American tourist market for much of its foreign exchange. But a more important source of worry seems to me to reside in the country's domestic politics. It is not difficult to discern the beginnings of political discontent in Grenada and to a considerable extent, this discontent stems precisely from the PRG's refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of opposition.

The irony is that the erosion of support from this source need not have occurred. No one doubts that if at any time in its first year in office the PRG had held elections it would have won, despite the best efforts of Gairy, the U.S., the *Torchlight* and the GNP. In such circumstances, the PRG would have been in possession of the legitimacy currently denied it in many Grenadians' minds. This, in combination with the new army it was creating, would have facilitated the transformation of society the PRG seeks.

The limiting of democratic rights can be counted on to have the opposite effect. The opposition will coalesce around a program that emphasizes democracy and free speech. Reactionary and external forces will be able to hide their true purposes while wrapping themselves in the legitimacy accorded democratic insti-



this is not always true, as the recent election in Jamaica demonstrates. Furthermore, without elections it is difficult to imagine how a population can exercise the first principle of democracy: the choice of its representatives. The PRG has not addressed itself to the question of a substitute for representative elections and party politics. I am not at all sure that Alister Hughes is wrong when he writes that in the NJM's charting of

tutions. As this opposition grows it will become increasingly difficult for the PRG to mobilize the population, reinforcing its tendency to limit expressions of discontent. All of this may create a self-reinforcing cycle of estrangement between the PRG and the population, which would be tragic for the Grenadian Revolution, all the more so because such a development could have been avoided. ■

Jay Mandle teaches at Temple University.

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We believe that eventually we will have to take power away from the capitalists, who, in their determination to increase profits, are destroying our right and responsibility to govern ourselves. At this point, however, our main task is to create a movement in the hearts and minds of the American people—so that we can stop seeing ourselves as victims and start exercising the power within us to control our own destiny.

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PERSPECTIVES

Althusser's tragedy is both public and private

By Diana Johnstone

"LOUIS ALTHUSSER MURDERED HIS WIFE." THE INCREDIBLE headlines plunged much of Paris, that dreary November Monday, into reverie. The personal catastrophe of the austere author of *For Marx* was bound to be felt as the most painful episode yet in the self-destruction of the French left. Those who knew Althusser a little, a lot or not at all, all had to adjust their private mythologies to this abrupt metamorphosis. The philosopher who turns into wife-strangler. For the public figure, it was a suicide more devastating than that of the other, younger Marxist theoretician, Nicos Polantz, who threw himself from a friend's high-rise balcony in Paris a little over a year ago.

After calling his doctor and accusing himself of the crime (which no one would believe until the autopsy con-

firmed it) early Sunday morning Nov. 16, Althusser was taken to Saint Anne's psychiatric hospital, where he is likely to remain. Everyone expects the court-appointed psychiatrists to report that the eminent scholar was irresponsible for his acts and is unable to stand trial.

Althusser has suffered for years from cycles of deep depression. The most recent had lasted since early last summer and was the worst ever. He had been married for only four years to Helene Legotier, at age 70 eight years his senior, whom he had known since the late 1940s and who is credited by some with having converted the young Althusser to the French Communist Party. Helene Legotier lived a more active life, more in contact with the world, as an assistant to movie director Jean Renoir in her youth, then in the French Resistance, as a PCF militant and in recent years as a sociologist interviewing working people all over the country.

The late marriage surprised Althusser's friends. He seemed more romantically interested in other, younger women. Helene could be both abrasive and protective, and the very motives for their marriage seemed obscurely related to Althusser's emotional illness.

All that is a private matter, although

Attracted in his early youth to conservative Catholicism, Althusser became, with his conversion to the PCF, the Jansenist of Marxism, rediscovering the true, betrayed doctrine in the sacred texts of Marx, just as the French Jansenist intellectuals had rediscovered true Christian doctrine in the 17th century. Instead of the mystery of divine grace, the scientific laws of the class struggle offered the sole hope of salvation for a humanity helpless on the level of individual will. Like the Jansenist lay theologians who braved charges of heresy to stay on in the Catholic Church and polemicize against the Jesuits for sacrificing doctrine in the interests of the worldly ecclesiastical institution, Althusser denounced the PCF for opportunistically (and without discussion) dropping the tenet of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in 1976, but never budged from the fold. And like the Jansenist Pascal, Althusser had the lucid intelligence to tear apart his own mental constructions.



Louis Althusser, author of *FOR MARX* and *READING CAPITAL*, stands beside a blackboard that reads, "the future lasts forever."

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it is certain that once the shock subsides and scruples are overcome, the literature inspired by the case will flow copiously, especially since so many of Althusser's former students are writers. The private drama can never be understood, but its reflection in the public imagination takes its place in contemporary social history as the symbol of the failure of a particular intellectual culture to get a handle on history or even to sublimate private demons.

Peculiarly immobile, Althusser spent his life in a milieu that expects great things from the study of literary texts. For over 40 years he has been attached to the Ecole Normale Supérieure, the Paris Latin Quarter college in the rue d'Ulm that traditionally selects and nurtures France's elite men of letters. Until he was taken to Saint Anne's, he even lived in this prestigious monastery of literary culture, in a huge, dingy, cluttered apartment on the ground floor of the school building itself. His academic rank was relatively low; his function was less that of a lecturing professor than of an English-style don, an accessible tutor pursuing a stimulating dialogue with his students. His influence was as a teacher more than as a writer. His fame came rather late, after publication in 1965 of *Pour Marx* and *Lire le Capital*.

In the 1960s, the Althusserian reading of Marx inspired French Maoism, whose "populist" leaders mostly came from the intellectual elite of the Ecole Normale Supérieure. The disillusion that rapidly overtook that revolutionary current in turn nourished the "new philosopher" phenomenon, whose celebrities are mostly former students of Althusser.

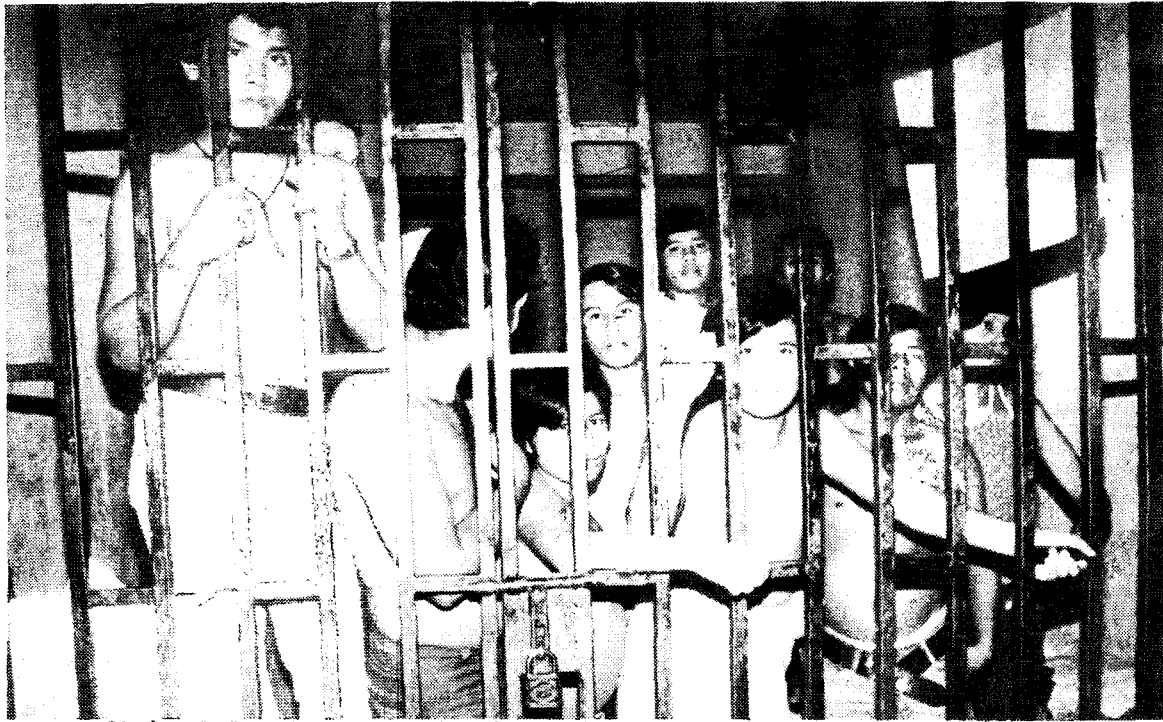
By 1980, Althusserian Marxism seemed to have lost almost all its disciples—including Althusser himself. "Marx wanted to create a science of revolution but failed," he observed last March, calling *Das Kapital* "catastrophic."

Althusser would say that he had "only ever read 30 books"—a striking way of emphasizing that his intellectual work was based on close reading of a few major authors—Marx, Spinoza, Montesquieu. Perhaps he was trying, as a useful social act that would link him to the world, to capture a sense that slipped through the net of words.

Failure in that sort of enterprise is commonplace and need not be felt as tragic. And there is no real evidence to connect Althusser's emotional instability to either his philosophy or his politics. But there is a general feeling that in better times, Althusser might have been able to latch onto some hope about the world to pull him out of his despair. ■

INPRINT

LATIN AMERICA



Former National Guardsmen were imprisoned in Esteli, Nicaragua, following the revolution.

Poetry of Nicaragua

Editors Bridget Aldaraca, Edward Baker, Ileana Rodriguez and Marc Zimmerman describe their *Nicaragua in Revolution: The Poets Speak* (Marxist Educational Press, c/o Anthropology Department, University of Minnesota, 215 Ford Hall, 224 Church St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn. 55455, \$6.95) as a "bilingual collage." This fine Spanish-English collection is a history, through poetry, of the Nicaraguan freedom struggle from 1898 until victory in 1979. Its four sections contain verses treating imperialism and the Sandino Uprising of 1927-34, Somoza tyranny, continued fighting and liberation. The works of such acclaimed poets as Chile's Pablo Neruda, Spain's Rafael Alberti, Nicaragua's Ruben Dario and Ernesto Cardenal, currently Nicaragua's Minister of Culture, appear alongside those of more than 30 lesser-known authors. Excerpted here is a brief poem by Cardenal, along with longer offerings by the late Leonel Rugama, martyred in 1970, and by Gioconda Belli, a young woman poet formerly exiled in Costa Rica.

—David Roediger

Ernesto Cardenal/*Oracle on Managua*

That is why you Leonel Rugama 20 year-old poet
joined the urban guerrillas:
Ex-seminarian, Marxist, you said
in the India Cafeteria that the revolution
is communion with the species.

That is why you fought in that house all afternoon.

That is why you gave your life
on the fifth planet of a middling star of the Milky Way.

Leonel Rugama/*The Earth Is a Satellite of the Moon*

Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
Apollo 1 cost quite a bit.

Apollo 3 cost more than Apollo 2
Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
Apollo 1 cost quite a bit.

Apollo 4 cost more than Apollo 3
Apollo 3 cost more than Apollo 2
Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
Apollo 1 cost quite a bit.

Apollo 8 cost a bundle, but no one minded
because the astronauts were Protestant
and read the Bible from the moon,
inspiring awe, infusing joy in every Christian
and on their return Pope Paul VI gave them his benediction.

Apollo 9 cost more than all of them together,
including Apollo 1 which cost quite a bit.

The great-grandparents of the people of Acahualinca were less
hungry than their grandparents.

The great-grandparents died of hunger.
The grandparents of the people of Acahualinca were less hungry
than their parents.

The grandparents died of hunger.
The parents of the people of Acahualinca were less hungry than
the children of the people of that place.

The parents died of hunger.
The people of Acahualinca are less hungry than the children of
the people of that place.

The children of the people of Acahualinca are not born because
of hunger,

and hunger to be born, to die of hunger.
Blessed are the poor for they shall inherit the moon.

Gioconda Belli/*Strike*

I want a strike we're all in.
An arms, legs, hair strike,

A strike
born of each one's flesh
I want a strike of workers
technicians
drivers
doctors

of doves
and flowers
and children
and women

I want a huge strike
— that strikes all the way to love —

A strike where everything stops:
the clock
the personnel
the factory
the church

the bus
the road
the schools
the ports

An eyes, hands and kiss strike.

A nobody breathe strike.

A strike in which silence is born
so that we can hear the tyrant's footfalls
as he flees.



LEARNING

Education that draws on everyday experience

Critical Teaching and Daily Life By Ira Shor

South End Press, P.O. Box 68,
Astor Sta., Boston, MA 02123
270 pp., \$6.00

By Steven Rosswurm

"Education and memory,"
Ira Shor argues, "are two fronts
in the battle for the future."
Critical Teaching and Daily Life
addresses both: it is a record of
Shor's six years of teaching Open
Admission students at Staten
Island Community College using
the "liberatory learning"
theories of Paulo Freire. As such
it is a welcome addition to the
pedagogical debate which socialist
educators ought to be having.
It may seem farfetched to apply

methods developed to teach illiterate
Third World peasants to
white working-class youth, but
Shor argues the opposite.

The "mass denial of reason"
is widespread in American society,
according to Shor, and is
accomplished through a variety
of forces: vocationalism, false
consciousness, the absence of
democracy, the demands of private
life and the aesthetics and
social relations of school, particularly
community colleges. Mass culture,
in short, suffocates critical thinking,
which is at its root conceptual thinking.
We may agree or disagree with
Shor's analysis of the relationship
between particular aspects
of mass experience and the inability
to think critically, but there is no question that, in Stan-

ley Aronowitz's words, "cognition
is in crisis."

Given this situation, Shor argues—sometimes persuasively,
sometimes weakly—that Freire's
methods offer a solution. The
goal of Freirian education is to
provide students with a "critical
literacy" with which they begin
to think conceptually and become
agents in their own lives. The
Freirian method begins with the
immediacy of daily life: "extraordinarily
re-experiencing the ordinary"
in order to extract the "routine"
from its "habitual foundations." Since
learning has "absorbed life as its
source for problematic themes,"
students become actors and subjects.
The emphasis is on dialogue and
process, not lecture and content;
on the withering away and "class

suicide" of the teacher, not professionalism
and formality.

There is an immediate and obvious
problem here, which Shor only
addresses indirectly: if mass culture
is so stultifying, so hegemonic,
how can one begin with daily
experience to restore critical
thinking? The answer is that
working-class students have
"hidden resources" and that there
are "resisting roots in mass
experience." Shor is never really
clear about these strengths and it
is surprising to come across the
vague arguments on this score
after meticulous pages devoted
to false consciousness, reification
and dominated leisure.

The meat of the book, Chapters
4-8, is devoted to Shor's experiments
with the application of Freirian
methods. Chapter 4 dis-

cusses an agenda for developing
composition and language skills
within a context of increasing
abstraction; the aim is to produce
"conceptual composition." Chapter
5 outlines a utopia course organized
around the apprehension of daily
experience—in one case a chair,
in another a hamburger. The exercise
moves from description to diagnosis
to reconstruction, again in increasing
levels of abstraction and relationalism.
Students begin with daily life and
eventually transcend its constrictions.

Chapter 6 focuses on the development
of language skills and daily life,
while the following chapter is devoted
to sexism. In each case, students
moved from observation to analysis to

Continued on page 15

ARTIST ON THE EDGE



Steve Kagan

Continued from page 16

have been more politically involved with the Trotskyists, the OCI. I was never a member, though my cameraman is, and I still donate money for their international work in freeing political prisoners. I haven't had much else to do with them for five or six years.

I choose these subjects because I like to make films about things that make me angry, that move me. A film should not only convince an audience but is a way of educating yourself. It's also a way to explore things I wouldn't dare to in normal life—like a failure to communicate, relationships with people.

I want to do in films what I like in literature. I like writers who go deep inside, like Hugo, Dickens, Dos Passos, who give me a sense of the time and the place. Chesterton wrote a good book about Dickens in which he said that Dickens had a great sense of "literary hospitality." I like to do films that have that quality—to try to see the motivations for even the worst scoundrels.

Your characters are never reduced to exemplars of a social issue.

No. I am not arguing a thesis—writing and directing a film is a way of exploring an issue. I don't understand how people can make a film about one theme, one thing. A film should be like a meal, and I would rather give people too much than too little. If you're making a film about

women's liberation there should also be something in it about a phone that doesn't work, about how much the rent of the apartment is. It's these details that give a story life.

I respect my characters. The job of direction is a kind of musical work, to respect the rhythm, the mood of the characters. You must not change the pace in order to make the situation more dramatic.

In *Death Watch* I talked to Harry Dean Stanton, who plays the villain Vincent. We talked about how Shakespeare allows a character, even if he is completely evil, to be right so long as he is speaking. Stanton told me, "I want to do a combination of Hugh Hefner and David Frost—I want to capture that show-biz morality." And I think he got it. He never played that character as evil—always cold, competent, a kind executive. rhythm set by commercials. You don't have time to look at things, to rest. You have films now that are shot just like commercials—a film like *All That Jazz*. I don't see any difference between films like that and their trailers. Some films pretend to criticize this, but they also manipulate. *Network* is a little more complex, but it too manipulates.

So in *DEATH WATCH* you give the perpetrators of that philosophy what they would not give to anyone else.

In *Death Watch* there are all the fears of what I hope I won't become. I had to listen to Vincent very carefully, because I hope I will never behave like that. And there are connections, although one doesn't want to admit it. When one character says he can understand a thing only when he films it—that could happen to me. It's the danger of any artist. You are on the edge between expression and manipulation.

Your films each take us into very different times and cultures. How do you learn about such different worlds?

I have a wide range of interests—jazz, music, books, cooking, people. I always want to learn, to do something new—I love to make my newest film against the type of the one before it.

I did a lot of research on the 18th century when I made *Let Joy Reign Supreme*, and afterwards I could have lectured on the subject. I try never to separate a film from its context. In *The Judge and the Assassin*, it's the relationship between the story and the period—a man who raped and killed two children and the Dreyfuss case. Just by reading the newspaper of the time you have a wealth of details.

After the film appeared, lawyers asked me how many advisors I had on the set, because it caught so many details they had never seen on screen. But I didn't even use one. I learned a lot about

it and then I "forgot" it and worked on intuition.

How much do actors contribute to the final film?

It depends. In the case of Harvey Keitel, I really wrote the script for him, and he received all the drafts and commented on them all.

He wants to contribute—in fact, he works too much. He has 2,000 questions on every scene, every line, every word. Sometimes it's superb and sometimes very bad. Sometimes I have to tell him, "Let go, you don't need to work so hard, relax, you don't need props..."

But he's a marvelous man, full of integrity. One or two times I cursed him. There you are, on a Scottish beach, just arrived with the film crew, and you want to have a hot bath and he calls you immediately, and you have to watch all the video tests he has run on blind people, and you think, "Can't he give me a little rest?" But then when he gets on set the first day and from the first take before saying one line he is able to control completely all the movements of his eyes—it's incredible.

He's the only actor now in America who, if he is well directed and doesn't play tensely, can look a little like John Garfield. He has a Garfield quality, which I call a proletarian sense of guilt. At the same time he is, like most of TV people, charming. The problem is that people give him neurotic parts—that's all wrong.

What is the reaction to your films of people whose situation you depict?

There is a high degree of response. After *Judge* there were hundreds of discussions with judges and lawyers. The same thing happened with *Spoiled Children*. Four years after the film was finished I'm still called up by people who want to know how to form a tenants union. I could spend every day in discussions about my film with an audience.

Does popular success make financing easier?

No. Until *A Week's Vacation* I was forced to fight for at least a year before making every film. The problem is that, although each has been a success, each is made against the previous one. After *The Clockmaker* they gave me ten Simeon novels. After *Let Joy Reign Supreme*—and nobody had made a historical film in years—I got a flood of historical scripts. After *Death Watch* they offered me three science fiction films.

But *A Week's Vacation* was very easy. We shot it in six weeks and it only cost \$850,000. None of the actors was well paid, although people took percentages and since the film is doing well, they are too.

That is how I try to do it. Jacques Prevert said, "In order to be free you have to know your limits." I know my films will never be blockbusters, and so I try to do them on very low budgets.

I am an artisan. I am learning how to make a table, discovering the quality of the wood, how to work with it. I know I am not an innovator of form, like a Godard. Godard is asking a different kind of question—whether we need a table.

Of course I ask myself a lot of questions during the making of a film—for instance on the use of soundtrack and light. In *A Week's Vacation*, for instance,



A WEEK'S VACATION

the lighting is always transposed so that the light is always unnatural. But that is the level at which I experiment. I know I'm not primarily working on the shape of the form.

Would you ever make a more "direct" film about political issues?

I need to discover a subject to treat without lecturing the audience. And it must be a subject that I can treat without someone saying to me, "Why did you do that rather than dealing with your own problems in France?"

Harvey Keitel wanted me to do *A Rumor of War*, which I liked very much. And Philip Caputo wanted me to do it, after he saw *The Judge and the Assassin*. But I was doubtful about dealing with an American subject. It should go to an American director. Harvey disagreed—he saw it as universal.

I think we are in a process where the world forces us to approach issues obliquely. We don't have the language of '68. It doesn't apply. Still, I am planning to do a film set in Africa that will be direct about French colonialism—and also funny.

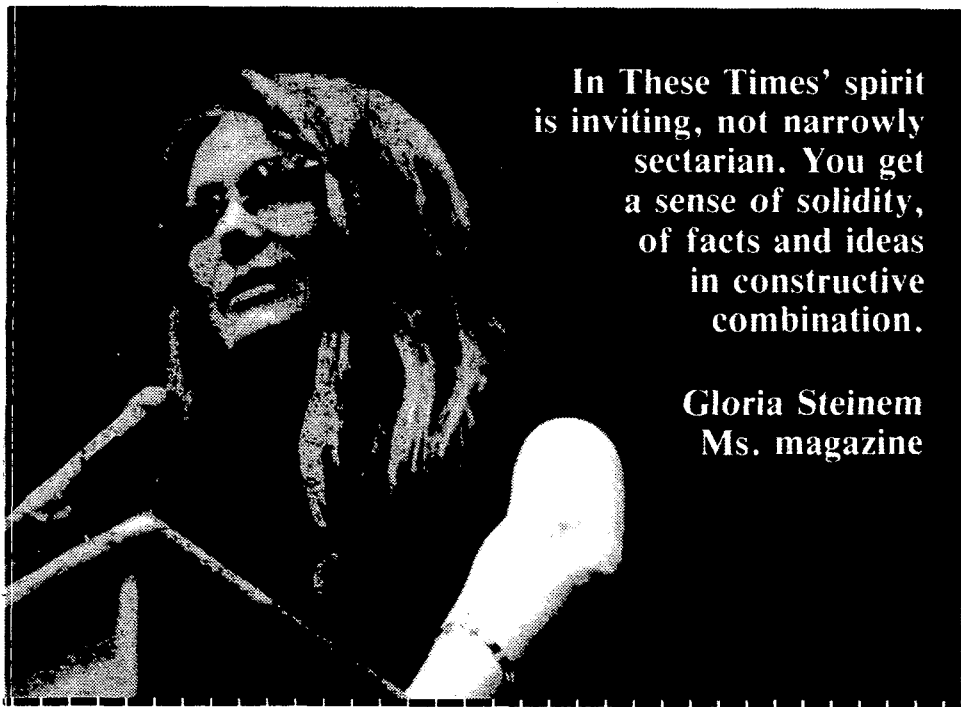
In *DEATH WATCH* you seem to warn us of the effects of a commercial media style on our ability to think and feel.

In the film there's a line—I didn't write it so I can admire it—that is the best thing I ever heard about TV—indeed, all the media—today: "Everything is of interest, and nothing matters." We live in a time when emotions are overdramatized. There is a Top Ten of tragedy like there is of pop music. You have to be on the charts. Cambodia was very high, but nobody speaks of it now.

The sensationalism closes the mind and the eye to a language that is smaller, or that belongs to a different civilization. You have to be fed by fast food information, faster and faster.

Take the Caputo book. I don't know what they did with it, but what most impressed me was that they were waiting all the time. These men come full of energy, cheering and fighting for democracy, and for three months they don't see anything. You have to deal with those three months, with the time they wait, that they are in the mud, that they are bored to death. That explains the sudden explosion of violence, the depression. But TV loves to cut those moments. The audience will switch to another channel if the tempo isn't the same as a series on another channel.

You must take time, you must give to things their exact importance, their exact time. If you only keep what is brilliant, it prevents you from thinking about social problems, because all the little things that make it up have been eliminated.



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Teaching

Continued from page 13
transcendence. In the former, they produced written models of how neighborhoods and schools might be operated; in the latter, they developed model marriage contracts.

There is much here with which to disagree. Shor's analysis of mass culture is clearly indebted to the Frankfurt School and particularly to Max Horkheimer's *The Eclipse of Reason*. Therefore, the book offers little conscious recognition of the oppositional elements abiding in mass experience. Shor realizes these exist, drawing upon them in his teaching; but his analysis is too one-sided to do more than pay them lip service.

Running side-by-side with the theme of domination is that of false consciousness: working people simply do not understand

where their interests lie. This is a tempting construct, but one grounded in frustration as much as in theory, and its validity is by no means certain. In the absence of meaningful alternatives (which can come only through transitional programs that raise the question of capitalism), is it not rational to hold onto the old? "Beating the system" is reasonable. The problem is to blend utopianism with short-run interests and this will only come with the development of a mass movement.

Finally, there is the problem of instrumentalism. Is it really possible only to teach skills in an "organic" fashion? Is it really true that "Philosophy needs to shape itself around reality"? Although Shor clearly does not intend it, an air of condescension pervades the book. He realizes the problematic nature of mass culture, hints at the weakness of the false consciousness paradigm and perceives the dangers of instrumentalism. But the

book contains whole sections in which these matters are ignored.

There are, further, a series of questions which advocates of Freire's methods will have to address: At what stage does one introduce material far removed from students' immediate experience? Is the method applicable beyond the building of basic conceptual skills? What about disciplines in which the content is paramount? Is not the conflation of teacher and political organizer problematic?

The case for the application of Freire's method to the American situation remains open and there is much to be learned from Shor's book. His strengths lie in his teaching ability and his conscious reflection upon his experiences. He has grappled with difficult problems which too many educators are ignoring. Anyone concerned with America's "falling rate of intelligence" ought to read this book.

Steven Rosswurm teaches history at Lake Forest College.

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ARTIST ON THE EDGE



Steve Kogan

"We live in a time when emotions are overdramatized. There's a top ten of tragedy like there is of pop music."

By Pat Aufderheide

"I wanted to make a political and social film without mentioning one word about politics," Bertrand Tavernier said last month at the Chicago Film Festival.

He was talking about his surprise hit, *A Week's Vacation*. It is a "little film," starring Nathalie Baye as a junior high school teacher in a crisis of despair over the meaning of her work. The film makes us feel, as we follow her through a week off from work prescribed by her doctor, the frustrations of liberal professionals in a period of political doldrums.

This film is just the latest of 39-year-old Tavernier's sensitive explorations of social tensions through an individual drama. Perhaps the best known in this country is *The Clockmaker* (1973), about a man whose estranged son has been arrested for murder and who won't talk to him. Philippe Noiret as the small-town clockmaker must come to terms with the generation gap in the wake of the profound social changes of 1968. "The Clockmaker," Tavernier said in a 1978 *Cineaste* interview, "was the story of a man who would not cross against a red light, and at the end in a courtroom he is testifying for his son, affirming his loyalty." (Noiret shows up as the clockmaker in *A Week's Vacation*; he has progressed, to the delight of insiders in the audience, to parking in a no-parking zone.)

Tavernier's films, most of which he has written or co-authored as well as directed, all explore social issues in precise historical settings. In *Let Joy Reign Supreme* (*Que La Fete Commence*) (1974) he examines political conflict in a moment of historical transition through the drama of the French aristocracy just before the Revolution. In *The Judge and the Assassin* (1975) he describes the social milieu of the turn-of-the-century Dreyfuss case.

Spoiled Children (1977) is often compared with Alain Tanner's *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*. (Although *Jonah* is one of his favorite films, Tavernier says, he had not seen it when he made *Spoiled Children*.) A young woman has an affair with an older, married screenwriter who has temporarily moved into a building where she and others are organizing a tenants union. Through this relationship the film examines the effect on daily life of the women's movement and changing styles of political work.

Tavernier brought two films to the Chicago Film Festival: *Vacation* (1980) and his 1979 film, *Death Watch*. The latter is a compelling adventure story set in 1990, in a society ruled by media hucksters who prey on a young dying woman bent on hiding from their cameras. The TV executives set upon her a man with video-camera eyes (Harvey Keitel), who learns from her the horror of his job.

Tavernier is a socially-engaged humanist. Trained in law, history and literature, he early abandoned the safety of a professional existence for a film apprenticeship with director Jean-Pierre Melville. He has worked as a film critic, freelance press agent, film historian and producer of shorts and anthologies. As a press agent he chose only filmmakers whose work he respected. Both as press agent and as filmmaker he worked with some of the classic American filmmakers, such as Ford and Hawks. He treasured his acquaintance with blacklisted filmmakers like Abraham Polonsky, Dalton Trumbo and Herbert Biberman. Tavernier redid the French subtitles for *Salt of the Earth*, a film he still admires.

In 1977 Tavernier told the *New York Times*' Flora Lewis, "A good film is one where I feel the director, even if

only for four or five minutes. It's a film that makes me say, 'I'd like to meet that person, ask questions, argue.'"

Tavernier's films make you feel like that.

Most of your films raise social issues obliquely.

There are two types of film. In one you deal with a direct political problem, like in *The Judge and the Assassin*. The other reflects the mood and atmosphere of the period, and is political just by an accurate description.

The two are equally interesting. The attitude you take depends on the background of the story and on the writer's mood. We—writers, directors—are like seismographs, when we try to do film rooted in social problems. *A Week's Vacation* if it had been made four years before, would not have been the same film. People in France 1980 are suspicious of political issues. If it had been made during 1974 it would have looked closer to *Spoiled Children*.

Is the political disillusionment in A WEEK'S VACATION your own story?

In a way. Right now—the way the Communist Party is moving closer to Russia, the way it does not support left unity, the way the socialists cannot find one candidate to support—it's very difficult. And politicians' politics has made people not discouraged, but skeptical.

I don't mean that because of evil things done in the name of socialism you have to forgo politics. I very much respect somebody like George Orwell, who wrote at the end of his life that it was people who wallowed in the worst Stalinist lies who later denied any good in socialism. And in France a lot of Maoists who once accepted anything from China now say we shouldn't do anything political, that we should become overtly religious.

But you have some moments where, like in *A Week's Vacation*, you don't feel politics can help you. Some people have criticized the film for not being political enough. The film has a line against Marchais, it is true. And during her crisis the heroine attacks several leftist clichés—such as that anyone left to express themselves will do something creative. She is exactly one of those people who believed in everything that came out of '68, and she has discovered that some of those things weren't true. The fact that she doesn't use political slogans to solve a situation does not mean that she sheds her ideals. She ends up in class quoting one of the greatest Turkish left-wing poets, Nazim Hikmet.

When I made *Spoiled Children*, I was more confident, although even there the end was not resolved. My job, after all, is not to solve something. If it were I would be a politician. The audience has to work at the end of the film. I want to make films that are free, that in their form will never rape the audience, and that will give them a way to talk about issues, to investigate, to disagree.

Why did you decide to make films with socially sensitive subject matter? I discovered politics through films, films like *Grapes of Wrath* and *Broken Arrow*. I always wanted to be a filmmaker, from the age of 14. I

—Continued on page 14

An interview with French Filmmaker Bertrand Tavernier